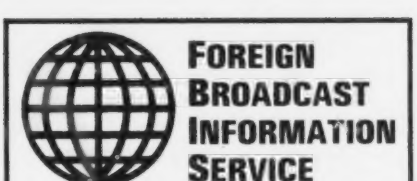

Daily Report

Soviet Union

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CONTENTS

10 March 1988

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Foreign Ministry 9 March Press Briefing 1
Gulf War Initiative 1
Missiles Supplied to Iraq *[KYODO]* 1
Events in Sumgait 2
Preparations for Reagan Visit 2
U.S.-USSR Trade Council Meeting 2
Raisa Gorbacheva Addresses Diplomatic Wives *[IZVESTIYA 5 Mar]* 2
Envoy Comments on Proposals at CSCE Talks 3
Afghan Talks, Mideast, Panama Crises Reviewed *[Peresada in PRAVDA 6 Mar]* 3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Cranston-Led Senate Delegation Arrives in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 9 Mar]* 6
Shevardnadze Receives Group *[PRAVDA 10 Mar]* 6
INF Treaty Discussed 6
Reagan Assistant Calls For CW Appropriations 7
'Concern' Over Pentagon Group's FRG Visit *[Akshenov]* 7
U.S. Nationals Active in Sao Tome Coup Attempt 8

China

Kochin on Status of Sino-U.S. Relations 8
Minor Democratic Parties Described *[PRAVDA 9 Mar]* 8
Scholar Awarded Order of Friendship on Birthday *[IZVESTIYA 2 Mar]* 10

Northeast Asia

Joint U.S.-Japanese Maneuvers Criticized *[KYODO]* 10
Tokyo Pacific Affairs Symposium Viewed *[Dmitriyev]* 10
DRPK Calls For North-South Dialogue 11
Trade Union Delegation Begins DPRK Visit *[TRUD 1 Mar]* 11

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Party Delegation Visits Laos *[PRAVDA 4 Mar]* 12

Near East & South Asia

Envoy Rebukes Pakistan for 'Stalled' Talks 12
'Obstacles' to Afghan Settlement Reviewed *[Vavilov]* 12
Afghanistan's Wakil Views Geneva Peace Talks 13
Pakistan 'Dragging Out' Talks 13
Rejects U.S. Proposal 14
'Can Guarantee' Afghan Security *[TRUD 5 Mar]* 14
Further Commentary on Gulf War Missile Exchange 15
Arab Envoys Urge Soviet Peace Role in Gulf *[Kuwait KUNA]* 15
Israeli, U.S. Reaction to Uprising Discussed *[Vinogradov in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Feb]* 16
Syrian Role in Mideast Reviewed *[Glukhov in PRAVDA 8 Mar]* 17
Algerian Ambassador Leaves for Home *[IZVESTIYA 2 Mar]* 19

Sub-Saharan Africa

Cape Verde Delegation Visits Moscow, Georgia *[PRAVDA 4 Mar]* 19
Economic Accord With Zimbabwe Ratified *[IZVESTIYA 19 Feb]* 19
Problem of Hunger in Ethiopia Examined *[Tarutin in PRAVDA 1 Mar]* 19
Briefs 20
Abidjan News Agreement 20
Africa Reference Book Published 20

East Europe

CSSR Ministry Spokesman on Jakes Proposal 20
Factors 'Hamper' Cooperation With Hungary *[PRAVDA 22 Feb]* 20
Further on Sejm Delegation Visit *[IZVESTIYA 2 Mar]* 22
Polish National Group Signs Cooperation Document *[IZVESTIYA 2 Mar]* 22
Balkan Forum Seen as 'Important, Positive' Step 22
Gorbachev's Book Published in SFRY 23
Briefs 23
SFRY Power Set Contract 23
Bulgarians Cosmonaut Training 23
Bulgarian-Soviet Trust Founded 23

West Europe

KGB 'Espionage' Methods Noted in Swedish Paper
[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 2 Mar] 23
SS-20 Transporters Find New Use in Joint Venture *[TRUD 2 Mar]* 24
FRG Nuclear Shipment Called 'Act of War' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 28 Feb]* 25
Further on Austrian Muhri's Talks With Gorbachev *[PRAVDA 8 Mar]* 27
Ryzhkov Sends Greetings to Spanish Art Festival 27
CPSU Delegation Returns From Malta *[PRAVDA 4 Mar]* 27
Briefs 28
PRAVDA Digest in UK 28

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama: Maneuvers 'Prelude' to 'Intervention' 28
Uruguayan President Previews Visit to USSR *[IZVESTIYA 3 Mar]* 28
Gorbachev's Perestroyka Book Presented in Havana 28

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Armenians Call Strike; Central Committee Meets 30
'Confusion' in Moscow *[DPA]* 30
Stalin Era Root Cause 30
Lebanese Armenians on Sumgait *[Radio Free Lebanon]* 31
Gorbachev at Central Committee *[PRAVDA 10 Mar]* 31
Some Tatars Allowed To Return to Crimea *[AFP]* 31
Resolution Adopted on New Housing Construction *[PRAVDA 21 Feb]* 32
Central Committee Message to Women *[PRAVDA 8 Mar]* 33
Official Interviewed on Job Placement Service *[TRUD 3 Mar]* 34
Hijack Attempt Results in Three Deaths 35
Press Provides Details *[AFP]* 36
Circumstances of 24 Jan Fatal Air Crash Examined *[PRAVDA 2 Mar]* 36
Obkom Chief in Kazakhstan Receives State Award *[PRAVDA 1 Mar]* 36
Kazakh Aktiv Discusses Youth Military Training *[IZVESTIYA 2 Mar]* 37
Tajik Party Moves To Combat Abuses *[PRAVDA 2 Mar]* 37
Briefing Held on Juvenile Crime in Moscow *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 3 Mar]* 38
Residence Rules for Moscow Explained *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Mar]* 38

Rules on Public Celebrations Recalled *[PRAVDA 26 Feb]* 39
Soviet Gas Industry Ministry Criticized 39
Plant Modernization Halted Because of Pollution *[PRAVDA 20 Feb]* 39
New Public Opinion Research Center To Open *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 9 Mar]* 41
Readers Speak Out on Glasnost Issues *[IZVESTIYA 2 Mar]* 41
Historian Discusses Ideological Innovation *[Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT 26 Feb]* 42
Social Forces Behind Political Change Assessed *[MOSCOW NEWS No 9]* 43
Divergence of State, Group Interests Viewed *[PRAVDA 3 Mar]* 45
Army Daily Reviews Documentary on Chernobyl *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Feb]* 48
Film Made on Stalin Victim Tukhachevskiy *[IZVESTIYA 3 Mar]* 49

Economic

Cash Shortage Results in Late Wages, 'Crisis' *[IZVESTIYA 3 Mar]* 49
Economists Present Price Hike Arguments *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 2 Mar]* 51
Price Hike Defense *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 2 Mar]* 52
Abalkin: 1990's To Bring Restructuring's Impact *[IZVESTIYA 1 Mar]* 53
Disbanded Ministry Employees Interviewed *[PRAVDA 2 Mar]* 57
Briefs 58
Tanker Launched 58

Agricultural

Shcherbitskiy Participates in Poltava Seminar 58
Media Report 8-9 March Agricultural Developments 58
Briefs 59
Moldavian-SFRY Corn Hybrids 59

Military

Shcherbitskiy Attends Army-Navy Jubilee in Kiev *[Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA]* 59
Kolbin Addresses Patriotic Education Meeting *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Mar]* 60
Leaders Sign Former Troop Commander's Obituary *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Feb]* 60

Foreign Ministry 9 March Press Briefing

Gulf War Initiative

LD091527 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The central place at a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Center here today was given to issues connected with the escalating Iran-Iraq conflict, in particular the "war of the cities."

This is only understandable since it is now the humanitarian aspect of the conflict that is moving into the foreground.

The fire conducted at Iranian and Iraqi cities is not directed against specific military facilities and is leaving civilians dead and material and cultural values destroyed.

"In the Soviet Union," Vsevolod Oleandrov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Directorate for International Organizations, said at the briefing, "serious concern and profound regret are being expressed over the latest flareup of the 'war of the cities' between Iran and Iraq."

[Moscow TASS in English at 1344 GMT on 9 March in a similar report adds the following: "Both sides are the losers in the "war of the cities," with the number of civilian casualties growing and material and cultural values being destroyed, he continued."]

"This turn of events is complicating the search for a peaceful solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict, adding fuel to the war and intensifying mutual hostility and animosity," he added.

In this alarming situation the Soviet Union has made the initiative for the U.N. Security Council to adopt as soon as possible a resolution demanding an immediate end to the "war of the cities" and restraint on the part of the warring sides.

The Soviet proposal provides for the appointment of a special representative of the U.N. secretary-general without delay for stepping up the international community's peace-making efforts regarding that conflict.

The special representative would immediately leave for Tehran and Baghdad and submit a report to the U.N. Security Council within a fortnight on the compliance with the resolution of both sides and on the attitude of Iraq and Iran to the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598.

With account taken of this report, it will be possible to take a decision on further steps by the U.N. Security Council towards putting an end to the war, Oleandrov said.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1344 GMT on 9 March adds: "The meaning of the new Soviet initiative is to reduce the intensity of the hostilities between the conflicting sides, stop their escalation, and activate collective efforts by the international community, first of all through the U.N. Security Council and the U.N. secretary-general, for putting an early end to the bloody and senseless war between the two non-aligned states," the Soviet spokesman said.]

It was pointed out at the briefing that the Soviet initiative has been met with understanding and evoked a positive response at the United Nations.

In reply to numerous questions from Western newsmen Oleandrov said that [words indistinct] to portray things in such a way as to make the Soviet Union appear to have something to do with the "war of the cities" are utterly groundless.

These attempts only reflect the striving by certain forces in the West, which are after their selfish goals, to distort the real picture and present the USSR in a bad light, by alleging that it has supplied Iraq with missiles that are hitting Iranian cities these days.

"The USSR has provided neither side with weapons for delivering such strikes and could not, of course, sanction them in any way," the Soviet spokesman siad emphatically.

Missiles Supplied to Iraq

OW100131 Tokyo KYODO in English 0950 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 9 KYODO—A Soviet Foreign Ministry official said on Wednesday that the Soviet Union had supplied missiles to Iraq but the missiles did not have sufficient range to strike Tehran from Iraqi territory.

Vsevolod Oleandrov, head of the ministry's department for international organizations, made the statement when asked in a press conference about Iran's charges that Iraq fired Soviet-made missiles at Tehran and other Iranian cities in the past two weeks. The Soviet official, however, did not say when the missiles were shipped to Iraq.

Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov also said that the missiles were supplied to Iraq under conditions ruling out modifications to increase their range. Thus, he said, the Soviet Union has nothing to do with recent Iraqi missile attacks on Iranian cities.

Oleandrov said the missiles were supplied under a military cooperation agreement between Moscow and Baghdad.

Events in Sumgait

LD091442 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1419 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Mar (TASS)—Answering questions from journalists, the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today that "one of the reasons for the tragic events in Sumgait was certainly provocative rumors." He stressed that the situation in Sumgait today is normal. All of the city's enterprises are working. "In this sense, the city's life as such was not interrupted."

The number of victims of these events was 32, said the USSR foreign ministry spokesman. "This figure is official and corresponds with reality. As for the so-called 'curfew', so far it is still in force. After 6 p.m. it is only permitted to walk the streets if in possession of a special pass." It was noted that the number of injured exceeds the number of dead. The necessary medical assistance is being given to all of them.

As already reported, disorders were provoked in Sumgait on 28 February by hooligan elements. Unstable, immature people, who had fallen under the influence of false rumors concerning events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia, were drawn into illegal actions. Criminal elements committed acts of violence and robberies.

G. Gerasimov told journalists that the vast majority of the refugees from Armenia to Azerbaijan have returned to their places. Events leading to deaths took place only in Sumgait. There were no particular disorders in any other regions of Azerbaijan.

Preparations for Reagan Visit

LD091513 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—A group of U.S. officials has been staying in the Soviet Union since March 4 for preparing the U.S. President's visit to this country, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

Led by Thomas Griscom, assistant to the President for communications and planning, the group had concentrated exclusively on the organizational aspects of the visit, he explained.

A luncheon was given for the group Tuesday on behalf of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, according to Gerasimov.

On Tuesday night the group flew to Leningrad. It completed the program of its stay in the Soviet Union today and left for Helsinki.

U.S.-USSR Trade Council Meeting

LD091507 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—It has been agreed to hold an annual conference of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council and a regular session of the Bilateral Commission on Commerce after April 11, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

It is provided that the participants in these events will have a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council includes some 280 U.S. corporations and banks and several states as well as 123 Soviet ministries, agencies, organizations and factories.

Its mission is to look for ways of normalizing trade and economic relations between the two countries, maintain a mutual interest in business contacts, and identify projects of mutually beneficial cooperation and other possibilities for developing trade and economic relations and scientific and technological exchanges.

Raisa Gorbacheva Addresses Diplomatic Wives

PM101155 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To Mark the Holiday"]

[Text] The traditional reception for the wives of the heads of the diplomatic missions accredited in Moscow took place 4 March to mark International Women's Day.

The reception was attended by women who are representatives of public organizations, workers, kolkhoz workers, cultural figures, doctors, teachers, and scientists from Moscow and the Moscow area.

R.M. Gorbacheva warmly congratulated the guests on the great holiday. She said: Of course, all of us who have gathered here, representing different countries and peoples, are not all alike. We all have our own political sympathies, philosophical views, and ideological principles. But there are also common human values which unite us: the joy of motherhood, the home, the family, and a concern for people close to us. We are united in our desire to live and work in a secure world, reliably protected against the horrors of war.

R.M. Gorbacheva wished all those present happiness in their work and in their children, and a peaceful clear sky over our beautiful planet.

A speech was delivered on behalf of the foreign participants in the reception by Mrs Jacqueline Sane, wife of the Senegalese ambassador, who expressed gratitude for the cordial meeting and sent Soviet women sincere congratulations to mark the holiday and also wishes for peace throughout the world.

Envoy Comments on Proposals at CSCE Talks
LD081808 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1405 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna, 8 Mar (TASS)—The delegations of the Warsaw Pact participant countries have tabled the draft military-political section of the final document at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The head of the USSR delegation, Ambassador Yu.N. Kashlev, stressed in his speech today that this document contains all the necessary provisions for elaborating mutually acceptable accords on military aspects of security in Europe. It provides for a precise decision on the resumption of the work of the conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, and on beginning new large-scale talks to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Moreover, the work of the conference and the talks on conventional weapons should begin as early as 1988 and be held parallel within the framework of the CSCE process, mutually linked.

The document envisages that at the next stage of the conference on measures for strengthening trust, security, and disarmament in Europe, issues for expanding measures of trust and their proliferation to include the activity of the air force and navy adjoining the European sea and ocean areas and air space must be examined. These issues, stated the Soviet representative, are now particularly topical in the face of new NATO appeals to "compensate" for the elimination of intermediate- and shorter- range missiles on the continent by stepping up military preparations in sea regions. The USSR delegation has called on the participants in the Vienna meeting to look again in an unbiased way at the Murmansk initiatives of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and to again seriously reflect on ways to put them into practice.

As the head of the Soviet delegation stated, a good basis now exists for speeding up practical work on the whole military and political section of the final document of the Vienna meeting, which would also promote progress in other directions of the all-European process.

Afghan Talks, Mideast, Panama Crises Reviewed
PM091501 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Peresada International Review: "The World This Week"]

[Text] So, spring has come, following the normal progression of the seasons, as it always does. In international life, however, spring does not come of its own accord. And if we sense a thaw in the world arena today, it is not superfluous to say over and over again what caused it. And that is the new political thinking, proclaimed by our country, which is increasingly confidently paving the way toward the establishment of normal and civilized relations among states.

A world free of the threat of nuclear war. The cherished aim of mankind. How to achieve it? I believe that the best answer given by the first week of spring was the fact that work continued in Moscow and Washington on the legislative ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles. But how are the states of the different social systems to conduct themselves in a disarmed world—one which is divided into blocs, furthermore? We know how: by peaceful coexistence. But a notable feature is that NATO is now raising that question. This was shown by the session of the bloc council in Brussels the other day. Despite the many old dogmas, the participants declared their desire to "seek better and more stable relations with the USSR and the other East European countries."

But the time of renewal is not a simple one. Stereotyped behavior based on the thinking of confrontation and the policy of strength also surfaced last week.

The Opportunity Must Not Be Missed [subhead]

The Afghan-Pakistani talks at the foreign minister level, which are being conducted through the mediation of D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN Secretary General, resumed in Geneva's Palais des Nations on 2 March. These meetings began several years ago, but never before has the world followed the course of the talks with so much attention. The point is that the current round has a considerable chance of being the last, and indeed of leading to a rapid settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

"Without doubt, a basis for optimism was created by the USSR-Afghanistan agreement to set a specific date for beginning the withdrawal of Soviet troops—May 15 this year—and to complete the withdrawal within 10 months," a BBC commentary notes. In making this statement on 8 February, the Soviet leader actually helped the cause of the political settlement to enter the finishing stretch, the Algerian newspaper EL MOUDJAHID writes. Similar opinions are expressed by observers and political and public figures in dozens of countries.

Yes, the present round of talks is guaranteed a favorable atmosphere, thanks to the USSR's initiative coordinated with the Republic of Afghanistan. However, it began in a difficult situation. This was because literally the day before, Islamabad suddenly put forward as a prior condition the idea of creating some sort of "transitional" government which "everyone would trust." And the

Pakistanis began saying that it was only with such a government that they could sign agreements. In so doing they clearly forgot their previous statements that the presence of the Soviet troops was the only obstacle to the solution of the Afghan problem.

Such "inconsistency" clearly betrays an attempt to delay the talks and make the signing of the Geneva agreements and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan dependent on such a purely internal Afghan question as the creation of a new coalition government. Meanwhile, it is clear that it can only be resolved by the Afghans themselves, even if they do belong to different and perhaps even opposing camps.

I should like to believe that common sense will still prevail. On the second day of the talks, Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil stated that they were proceeding in a positive and constructive manner and that there was hope of a final settlement of the Afghan situation. A recess until 7 March has now been announced, and it is to be presumed that it will enable Islamabad to consider its position once more.

This stage more than any other requires a responsible approach. And that approach has again been shown by those who are profoundly aware of how important it is not to create obstacles, but to clear the way to the solution of the conflict. Taking into account the Pakistani side's wishes and also guided by the general spirit of the statements by M.S. Gorbachev and President Najibullah, the Afghan delegation announced after preliminary consultations with the Soviet Union on 3 March that the withdrawal of the contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan could be carried out within 9 months and that one-half could be withdrawn in the first 3 months.

It is now a matter of an appropriate approach by other sides involved in the conflict—and not only Pakistan, but the United States, too. Not simply because Washington is placing special emphasis on questions related to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops—questions which are resolved by the 8 February statement and the new initiative at the Geneva talks. Among the documents to be signed in Geneva is an agreement on guarantees of noninterference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. This presumes that both the Soviet Union and the United States will be guarantors.

But matters are far from straightforward in Washington. In addition to the trend favoring a settlement, there is another tendency apparent there. Forces which would like to complicate the situation have become more active. It is well known, for example, that back in 1985 the United States committed itself to end its military support for the opposition formations just as soon as the USSR began to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. However, just 1 day before the resumption of the Geneva talks, the U.S. Senate voted unanimously for a resolution which urges the administration not to end or reduce such support until the Soviet contingent is completely withdrawn.

The French newspaper L'HUMANITE comments: "The main question now is the ending of U.S. aid to the Afghan rebels based in Pakistan. As a guarantor of a possible future treaty on noninterference and peace between Islamabad and Kabul, Washington must end its own interference carried out via Pakistan. If the official statements do run in this direction, certain circles close to the White House lament the commitments made, which could lead to what they see as a 'dangerous' weakening of the rebels."

In the modern world, there is no question upon which mutual understanding or progress cannot be achieved, if it is treated honestly and seriously, of course. For its part, the Soviet Union has done everything in its power to resolve the Afghan problem as quickly as possible. The main thing now is not to miss this historic opportunity to achieve a political settlement. The USSR is making every effort to end armed conflicts in other regions of the world and is ready to study regional problems together with the United States. So far, unfortunately, our countries' positions and approaches to the settlement of particular conflict situations have hardly coincided.

Resorting to Maneuvers [subhead]

In most cases, and particularly those where a conflict is multilateral, the United States pins its hopes on solutions which benefit it or its closest allies alone. The Near East exemplifies that approach.

U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has been there twice recently. The aim of his mission was to push through Washington's "new peace plan." What is that plan?

From the very beginning of his tour of Jordan, Israel, Syria, and Egypt, the secretary of state publicized not the new initiative but an adapted version of Tel Aviv's separate treaties with individual Arab participants in the conflict. There was also a proposal to introduce so-called interim self-rule for the Palestinians, in other words, essentially a truncated form of the "autonomy" which the Camp David deal tried to foist on them 10 years ago. This time, as before, a full international conference on the Near East was ignored, the PLO was not recognized as an independent participant in the settlement, and there was no mention of the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

No wonder then that, even before Shultz' trip, the U.S. plan was resolutely rejected by the PLO and subsequently also declined by Jordan and Syria. Prime Minister Shamir of Israel considered it unacceptable, but for a different reason: To the right wing of the Israeli

Government, even this venture seemed "pro-Palestinian." Only Cairo showed Shultz some understanding, CBS TV notes, but that did not play a significant role: He did not secure the agreement of the others: In other words, he achieved nothing.

Meanwhile, at the end of the week Shultz made a second trip along the same route. He put forward a somewhat modified variation of the same plan and suggested that the sides reply within 10 days. Why such persistence? What is Washington's aim?

It's this. The uprising on the Israeli-occupied lands which has lasted almost 3 months now shows particularly graphically that the Palestinians will never accept the seizure of their native land and that peace in the Near East is impossible without the restitution of their legitimate national rights. Israel's attempts to deal with the uprising are not working. Furthermore, the tyranny and terror have caused a mighty wave of solidarity with the Palestinians which has even affected those Western countries allied to Washington and "favorably disposed" to Tel Aviv.

The uprising has become a most grave political factor of international importance, which has placed not only Israel but also the United States in a difficult position. And the "strategic allies" are trying to eliminate that factor: Tel Aviv is using repression, Washington uses all sorts of maneuvers. Britain's THE INDEPENDENT writes that Shultz' diplomacy amounts to an attempt "to secure by any means the terms of a settlement which the Israeli prime minister could tolerate, but which would also provide sufficient grounds for the Palestinians to cease the demonstrations in the occupied territories."

But the Palestinian people are continuing the struggle. Washington is so incensed by this that it has decided to close down the mission of the PLO's permanent observer to the United Nations. As a result, the 42d session of the General Assembly was urgently reconvened. It passed two resolutions aimed at preventing the unlawful U.S. actions. Only Israel opposed, and the U.S. delegation abstained from voting. The "strategic allies"' isolation was thus complete.

This was yet another lesson for Washington, which just cannot understand that the modern world is not monopolized by one or another group of states, no matter how powerful they are. But for some reason it also refuses to abandon the idea that the times of diktat are past, as they yearn to use the "tried and tested arsenal" of threats, blackmail, and the fist.

Blackmail and Threats [subhead]

Just look at the uproar over little Panama. In Central America, where an acute conflict already exists, caused by Washington's intrigues against Nicaragua and by the counterrevolutionary forces aided and abetted by it, what is effectively a new center of tension has come about. And the blame for it rests with the unbridled actions of the United States.

The pretext was the removal of President E. Delvalle. This decision was taken by the Legislative Assembly and is unquestionably an internal matter for the Republic. In Washington the anti-Panama campaign intensified sharply. Many observers have been expressing the opinion that the measure taken by the Legislative Assembly undermines U.S. hopes of possibly revising the treaties on the Panama Canal, under which this sea route linking two oceans is to pass to Panama's full jurisdiction by the year 2000.

The threats rained down. As NBC TV reported, Vice President Bush stated: "The United States reserves the right to do whatever it considers necessary, including the use of military force, to defend the inviolability of America's interests in this part of the world." The 10,000-strong contingent of U.S. Armed Forces stationed in the Panama Canal Zone were placed on alert.

At the same time, the most powerful economic and political pressure is being exerted on the country. President Reagan recommended that Congress include it on the list of states ineligible for U.S. assistance. It has been decided to freeze Panamanian funds in several New York banks, not to pay it for the use of the canal, and to take other "punitive measures." The State Department has ostentatiously stated that Washington continues to recognize ousted President Delvalle.

What is this if not outright interference in a sovereign country's affairs? It is yet another glaring example of contempt for legality and law and order in the world. Does the United States seriously believe that it has the right to be judge and jury in world affairs and to "punish" individual members of the world community as it sees fit to suit its own political interests?

The lawful Government of Panama is receiving many messages of solidarity these days. That is understandable. People in the region are extremely concerned at Washington's provocative intrigues and regard them both as an encroachment on Panama's sovereignty and as part of a general U.S. offensive aimed at wrecking any peace settlement in Central America.

President M. Solis Palma of Panama has warned the U.S. Administration against trying to mount an armed attack against the Republic. "We shall struggle ceaselessly to preserve our national independence," he stated, "and we are ready to take any measure and to appeal for support to any state without exception to save our country."

The Cuban newspaper GRANMA has dubbed America's anti-Panamanian actions part of the "fist-law syndrome." And it is a very dangerous syndrome. For the United States, too. If it persists in this method, this great power will probably not become any weaker, but it will never gain the respect and trust that are so prized in the civilized world.

United States & Canada

Cranston-Led Senate Delegation Arrives in Moscow

PM091357 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Capital's Guests"]

[Text] A group of U.S. senators and scientists, headed by Alan Cranston, deputy leader of the Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate, arrived in Moscow 7 March at the invitation of the USSR Parliamentary Group Committee.

They were met at the airport by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies Ye.P. Velikhov, USSR Parliamentary Group Committee member; R.Z. Sagdeyev, Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission member, and other officials.

Shevardnadze Receives Group

PM101116 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the heading "Talk at the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, USSR foreign minister, has received 9 March a group of notable U.S. senators—Alan Cranston, Alan Simpson, Sam Nunn, Carl Levin, William Cohen, as well as scholars in the field of international relations and security problems—Clark, Hamburg, Drell, Rice, Legvold, and Townes.

In the course of an unconstrained and frank conversation, a broad range of issues was discussed pertaining to the state of and prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations and the strenghening of strategic stability. The sides have exchanged in detail and in a constructive spirit views on the process of ratification in the USSR and the United States of the treaty on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It was noted in that connection that the coming of the treaty into force soon would signal substantive progress on the way of reduction of nuclear arsenals.

The results of the summit meeting in Washington are a good foundation for an improvement and stable positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations, Eduard Shevardnadze noted. The successful completion of drafting on the basis of the provisions, on which agreement was reached at that meeting—on a 50-percent cut in the strategic offensive weapons in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty, the way it was signed in 1972 and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed time—would meet the interests of strengthening the security of the USSR and of the United States and of the whole international community. It is necessary to put an end once and for all to the nuclear arms race which consumes enormous material resources. Of much significance is also the speediest resolution of the task of a total ban on chemical weapons and a reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals which would help toward eliminating the threat of war and improving the situation in Europe and the world over.

The U.S. senators and scholars have on their part declared for a further broadening of ties and contacts between our countries at all levels, including along the parliamentary lines as well as between scholars and public organizations.

The mutual conviction was expressed of the need for firmly asserting new thinking in Soviet-U.S. relations, of giving up the old stereotypes, the enemy image in relations between the two countries. The importance was noted within the context of continuing and deepening the process of bettering the political climate and the state of things on specific issues that the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow should be marked with fresh major achievements in the field of arms cuts and of disarmament, of strengthening international security.

The meeting was attended by U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock.

INF Treaty Discussed

LD091820 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—A meeting of members of the Commissions for Foreign Affairs of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet with a group of American senators and scientists was held in Moscow today. American senators and scientists are staying in the Soviet Union at the invitation of a committee of the parliamentary group of the USSR.

Problems connected with the ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles were in the focus of attention.

Chairman of the preparatory commission, a working body of the Standing Commissions for Foreign Affiars of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Georgiy Korniyenko said that the treaty is thoroughly discussed now. The considerations of deputies, as well as the opinion of the broad public, are fully taken into account during the hearings.

Senator Sam Nunn expressed the opinion that there is little probability of serious complications on the road to the ratification of the treaty by the U.S. Senate.

Questions of armaments and armed forces in Europe were touched upon. In connection with the assertions of the U.S. side that the Warsaw-treaty countries have military superiority over the NATO bloc in the area of conventional armaments, the senators and the scientists were given a thorough explanation. It was emphasized

that in reality there are no violations of the military balance, that the Soviet Union is prepared to analyze seriously the questions of conventional armaments in Europe in view of the fact that alongside the problem of strategic offensive arms, the questions of conventional armaments have moved to the forefront now. Future talks on this problem stand real chances of success if simultaneous reduction and reciprocal removal of asymmetry and disbalances are discussed.

The guests showed interest in the defence doctrine of the USSR. Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev said that the construction of the Armed Forces of the USSR is based on the principles of sufficiency for defence. Proceeding from this principle, the USSR exerts the efforts to drastically lower the level of confrontation, reduce the military potentials in such a way that the East and the West should only have forces and means necessary for defence.

The senators and scientists were told about the measures being taken by the Soviet Union to reduce nuclear danger, about the operation of the mechanism to lessen the risk of a chance outbreak of nuclear conflict. The readiness of the Soviet side to discuss all questions involved in the elimination of nuclear weapons testing was emphasized.

Dwelling on the need for a radical reduction of strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States, the Soviet participants in the conversation emphasized that the conclusion of an appropriate agreement on this cardinal problem would be an important breakthrough in the cause of general and complete disarmament, in the creation of a nuclear weapons-free world.

Taking part in the conversation from the Soviet side were deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet Georgiy Arbatov, Yevgeniy Velikhov, Roald Sagdeyev, Yuriy Sklyarov, Stepan Chervonenko. Taking part from the U.S. side were Senators Alan Cranston, Carl Levin, William Cohen, former Senator James Clarke, as well as scientists included in the group.

Reagan Assistant Calls For CW Appropriations
LD100751 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 10 TASS—The Reagan administration requested over 200 million dollars for production of chemical binary weapons and their development in the fiscal year 1989. Speaking on Wednesday at hearings in a subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives, which is debating the military budget bill for the next fiscal year, Thomas Welch, deputy assistant to the secretary of defense, called for meeting the administration's request fully.

He said that on last December 16 the USA started production of 155 mm artillery binary shells, is to launch production of binary big eye bombs next May and is developing binary warheads for missiles.

'Concern' Over Pentagon Group's FRG Visit
LD091448 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—BY TASS commentator Lev Akshenov:

A delegation of Pentagon officials and businessmen from a number of U.S. munitions corporations has arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany.

According to the newspaper DIE WELT, their mission is to persuade that country as well as Britain, Spain and Italy to share in a joint project for developing a new-generation fighter, Hornet-2000.

A seemingly ordinary event, it has an aspect which cannot but arouse concern. It is the timing of the U.S. proposal.

It is just as prospects for real disarmament have emerged in the world, first of all in Europe, that the leaders of the United States and the NATO bloc are seeking to reverse the trend.

It is not for nothing that emphasis is on aircraft development: the joint NATO forces in Europe have a margin of superiority over the Warsaw treaty in this category of arms, with 1,500 more warplanes on their side.

The idea of developing a new fighter means that NATO intends to consolidate its supremacy in the field not only in quantity, but in quality as well.

Wahington's striving to enlist West European allies in joint projects has been dictated not only, and not so much, by the growing costs of military production.

The Pentagon is keen in this way to make West European nations the hostages of a policy of continuing the arms race. Such a policy in international affairs, however, is not conducive to stronger positive trends at all.

U.S. Nationals Active in Sao Tome Coup Attempt

LD100736 Moscow TASS in English 0713 GMT 10 Mar 88

["U.S. Hirelings Participate in Abortive Coup"—TASS headline]

[Text] Luanda March 10 TASS—U.S. nationals were among participants in the abortive coup started early Tuesday morning in the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, Manuel Dende, spokesman of the Sao Tome press agency, said in Luanda on Wednesday. He said in an interview with the Angolan news agency ANGOP that one of Americans had been killed and another taken prisoner by security officers of the republic. Mercenaries from other countries, including African states, were also among attackers.

Manuel Dende said that security forces captured Afonso dos Santos, chieftain of plotters, as well as many other accomplices in the coup during a combing operation of coastal areas of Sao Tome island.

ANGOP says that members of opposition Sao Tome groups undergo military training in Namibia with the knowledge of the occupying authorities of racist South Africa. It is quite probable that commandos were lifted to Sao Tome with assistance from the Pretoria regime, the agency points out.

China

Kochin on Status of Sino-U.S. Relations

OW081319 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Kochin commentary]

[Text] On the eve of his visit to the United States, Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian told the Associated Press that the development of Sino-U.S relations is far from satisfactory. Station commentator Kochin has the following comment:

After the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and the United States, it was expected that relations between the two countries would develop by leaps and bounds. Indeed, trade between the two countries has expanded, U.S. investment in China has increased, and thousands of Chinese students are studying in the United States. However, at the same time, as was pointed out by Wu Xueqian in his interview with the Associated Press, China was not happy with the nature of Sino-U.S. relations. It seems that what made China unhappy was the display of imperialist arrogance by the United States. Everyone can see the display of an arrogant hegemonist stand, which the United States has obviously never abandoned, despite remarks about "cooperation" and "identical and parallel interests." The official stand and actions of the United States on dozens of issues have infringed upon China's interests.

Take the question of Taiwan, a key issue, for example. The United States has taken a double-faced stand on this issue. It has also attempted to discriminate against China in economic and trade matters. U.S. congressmen raised a hue and cry on China's human rights and its stand on the Iran-Iraq war. Washington even tried to impose its will on the question of how many children a Chinese family should have. Undoubtedly, development of relations between countries of different social systems is a welcome thing. However, true peaceful coexistence should be based on equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Obviously, the United States falls far short in this respect.

Minor Democratic Parties Described

PM091621 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences G. Stepanova under the "At Your Request" rubric: "PRC Democratic Parties"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "I read that there are parties in China other than the CPC. Tell me about this in more detail." S. Sadykov, Moscow

Presently, eight democratic parties, apart from the ruling CPC, function in the PRC. They are as follows: The China Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the Chinese Justice Party (Zhongguo Zhigongdang), the Society of 3 September, and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. All the parties are involved in the Chinese United Patriotic Front led by the CPC. The existence of democratic parties in the country's political system is officially enshrined in the PRC Constitution and the CPC Rules.

Official Chinese publications and the rules for each of these parties says that they are a "political union, made up partly of socialist working people and partly of patriots who support socialism, a political party which serves socialism."

After a considerable interruption in the parties' activity associated with the struggle against the "rightists" of 1957 and also during the years of the "Cultural Revolution," all-China congresses of these organizations were held in the eighties. Their activity is geared toward implementing the "Four Modernizations" Program and the reunification of Taiwan with the PRC. The democratic parties began to develop their activeness in the country's political life from the late seventies and a quantitative growth in their ranks can be noted. Democratic parties now number more than 170,000 people.

Zhao Ziyang's report at the recent 13th CPC Congress talked about the need to "improve the system of multiparty cooperation and consultations" under the the CPC's leadership and enhance the role of democratic parties and nonparty patriotic figures in the country's political life. As a rule, the CPC Central Committee holds various meetings with representatives of democratic parties and public organizations before adopting important documents of statewide importance and before holding all-China forums. The guests at the CPC forum included leading figures from all the country's democratic parties and some of them were members of the congress Presidium at the final session.

Democratic party members are quite broadly represented in the country's legislative organs: More than 5,000 of them have been elected as deputies for the assemblies of people's representatives at various levels, including the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC], and more than 14,000 are members of various organizations in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [CPPCC].

Now let us talk briefly about each of the democratic parties.

The Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. The main contingent of this party, formed in 1948, consists of people who have historic ties with the Kuomintang. The main avenues in the activity of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee are, in accordance with the rules adopted at the 6th congress in 1983, further "accelerating the completion of the great cause of uniting the homeland," propaganda, the consistent implementation of CPC course and policy with regard to returning Taiwan to China, and reinforcing ties with Kuomintang military and civilians on Taiwan, in Hong Kong, and Macao. The ranks of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee number more than 30,000 people. Qu Wu, deputy chairman of the CPPCC All-China Committee and chairman of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society, is the honorary chairman of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Central Committee.

The China Democratic League was set up in 1941. The creative intelligentsia accounts for most of the members of this party. Active participation in constructing socialist material and spiritual culture is one of the membership features of the China Democratic League, in accordance with the adopted rules. This is the country's largest democratic party, numbering more than 40,000 people. Fei Xiaotong, deputy chairman of the CPPCC All-China Committee and director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Sociology Institute, is the chairman of the China Democratic League.

The China Democratic National Construction Association was founded in 1945. The association's main contingent comprises figures in industry and trade. An important place in its work is devoted to organizing consultations on economic matters and on questions of improving economic management, training specialists in this sphere, and helping to find jobs for young people. A feature of this party is its joint activity with the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. The party now numbers 36,000 members. Sun Qimeng is the association's chairman.

The China Association for Promoting Democracy was formed in 1948. Most of the association's members are cultural and educational figures and publishing workers. According to the rules adopted at the association's 5th congress (1983), its members must actively help border regions to organize an information service. The association numbers 15,000 people made up of 1,200 grassroots organizations. Ye. Shengtao, deputy chairman of the CPPCC All-China Committee and well known writer, is the association's chairman.

The Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party was founded in 1930. It received its present name in 1947. The members of this party are workers in medicine, public health, science, education, and culture. The party numbers more than 13,000 members in its ranks. Zhou Gucheng, professor at Fudang University, is the chairman.

The China Justice Party was originally an organization set up by Chinese living outside the country. It was formed in 1925. Now most of the party's members are repatriates and relatives of Chinese who live abroad. The main avenues for the organization's work are: Ties with Chinese abroad, aid for state organizations dealing with emigre affairs, work with repatriates, and so on. Despite the small size of the party—it has 2,200 members—more than 50 of its organizations carry out their activity in the country's 14 provinces, cities under central jurisdiction, and autonomous regions. Huang Dingchen, member of the CPPCC Standing Committee, is the party chairman.

The Society of 3 September was set up in 1944. The party took its present title in 1945 in honor of the victory over militarist Japan. The main body of the society's members are made up of scientists and specialists in natural and technical sciences. In 1987 party members totaled 27,000. Xu Deheng, deputy chairman of the CPPCC All-China Committee and deputy chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, is the society's chairman.

The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League was formed in 1947. The main body of the party members are natives of Taiwan who live on PRC territory. The main avenue for the league's activity is establishing and developing contacts with compatriots and promoting the reunification of Taiwan with China. A total of 11 local organizations function in the country at the level of provinces and cities under central jurisdiction. Lin Shengzh, a member of the CPPCC All-China Committee Standing Committee, is the league's chairman.

Scholar Awarded Order of Friendship on Birthday
PM091659 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of the Order of Friendship of Peoples to Ge Baoquan, Chinese Literary Scholar and Translator"—IZVESTIYA headline; Moscow, 1 March]

[Text] For his great contribution to strengthening Soviet-Chinese cultural cooperation, his services to the popularization of Russian and Soviet literature, and in connection with his 70th birthday, the Order of the Friendship of Peoples is awarded to Ge Baoquan, Chinese literary scholar and translator.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Moscow, the Kremlin, 1 March 1988.

Northeast Asia

Joint U.S.-Japanese Maneuvers Criticized
OW091216 Tokyo KYODO in English 1206 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 9 KYODO—Soviet Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov says he cannot rule out the possibility that Japan and the United States may use a joint naval drill in the Pacific to launch an attack on the Soviet Union.

In an interview with KYODO news service, Khvatov, commander of the Soviet Pacific fleet based at Vladivostok, accused the U.S. and Japan of conducting the joint war games assuming an invasion of the Soviet Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, near Japan. He said Washington and Tokyo have previously conducted landing drills using aircraft carriers and landing craft on the assumption of attacking Soviet territory, and that both countries had boosted the scale of their military exercises in recent years.

Khvatov said the U.S. Navy has recently equipped some of its ships with Tomahawk cruise missiles, among them two warships to be stationed at the U.S. Naval base at Yokosuka, south of Tokyo. The admiral also said that Japan has stepped up its naval capability by making anti-submarine aircraft and by planning to build AEGIS [airborne early warning/ground environment integration system] ships, which are equipped with a weaponry system capable of firing 10 missiles simultaneously.

He reiterated a Soviet proposal to create a security system in the Pacific area.

Tokyo Pacific Affairs Symposium Viewed
OW070801 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] An international experts symposium on Pacific regional affairs was held in Tokyo 3-4 March, sponsored by the International Affairs Institute of Japan. Commentator Dmitriyev remarks on this:

It is said that the Pacific era will soon arrive. Actually, we believe that it has already begun. We can understand when the symposium's participants mention Japan as the most influential country in the Pacific region. One reason is that Japan's per capita GNP, surpassing that of the United States, has become second only to Switzerland among the 24 OECD, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, member countries.

But our impression from the symposium's discussions was that Japan's future as a leader in the Pacific region, from a political viewpoint, will in no way be uneventful. For instance, Defense College Professor Nishimura and others said that henceforth Japan would become more and [illegible]rudent in regional policies. In light of the fact tha[illegible]are a variety of predictions about Japan's fu[illegible]olitical moves, we think that prudence is most a[illegible]riate at present.

[illegible]teen, representing the United States, predicted from the U.S. standpoint, the United States would urge Japan to increase its participation in anti-Soviet activities.

In response to this, Professor Takeshi Igarashi of Tokyo University expressed misgivings about Japan-U.S. alliance relations becoming too intimate, pointing out that the United States might attempt to use Japan's military power for its own purposes.

But would it be possible for Japan to elevate its international prestige while participating in confrontations on a global scale? At best, only its prestige as [words indistinct] of an opposing bloc will be elevated.

As long as the United States remains the leader of the nations confronting the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Japan, which toes the line on U.S. policies, will have to be forever content with the status of No 2 nation.

On this point, I would like to quote remarks made by a prominent Japanese political science scholar, Inoguchi, in an interview with ASAHI SHIMBUN in October 1986. In the interview, Mr Inoguchi said: If Japan continues to pay attention only to defense [words indistinct] in cooperation with the United States, Japan will be left out of detente in the Pacific.

Meanwhile, prospects for Pacific detente have become much more realistic than when the phrase began to be used.

In his address to the symposium, Dr Jiwandono of Indonesia's Strategic International Research Institute said: The Soviet Union's support for turning Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone and its perestroyka-related economic plans have provided conditions for the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Pacific to draw close.

To these, we may add the following as additional conditions: the Soviet Union's abolition of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in the Asian region, the announcement of a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan under an agreement with the Afghan Government, and other proposals.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his Vladivostok speech of July 1986 and in his interview with the Indonesian daily MERDEKA last year, announced comprehensive plans for strengthening international security and developing mutual cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region. The Soviet proposal advocates drastic reductions of military strength in Asia, weapons systems centering around nuclear arms, and naval and air force activities.

Finally, in place of the current idea of maintaining security through military buildup, we propose to create a political agreement system which takes into account all areas' legal interests. If this goes well, the determinant of Asian Pacific nations' prestige will not be their military strength, but their actual economic, scientific, and technological achievements as well as guarantees of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

Reciprocal mutual exchanges of sufficient merit in these and other areas will undoubtedly expedite the advent of the Pacific era, and should Japan take a more constructive attitude in these aspects, the people of the Pacific would duly appreciate it.

DRPK Calls For North-South Dialogue

LD080748 Moscow TASS in English 0654 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Pyongyang March 8 TASS—The Democratic People's Democratic Republic (DPRK) [as received] has again called on South Korea to hold a preparatory meeting for the convocation of a joint North-South conference to discuss disarmament and relaxation of tensions in Korea.

A letter sent today by Ho Dam, chairman of the preparatory committee of a joint conference, to the authorities, political parties and public organisations of South Korea says that the South Korean side "is artificially creating obstacles" to dialogue, the Korean Central News Agency has reported.

Noting the importance of overcoming the obstacles, Ho Dam proposed to hold a preparatory meeting on March 28 at Panmunjom on the military-demarcation line.

Trade Union Delegation Begins DPRK Visit

PM081347 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Mar 88 p 3

[Special correspondent I. Belov dispatch: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 29 Feb—A Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev began its official friendly visit to the DPRK 29 February.

The delegation was met at the capital's airport by Kim Pong-chu, chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea [GFTUK], and by other Korean trade union leaders. The welcoming party included G.G. Bartoshevich, USSR ambassador to the DPRK.

During their stay in the country the Soviet trade union emissaries will visit industrial enterprises and cultural and educational establishments in Pyongyang, Namp'o, and Kaesong and will meet with party, trade union, and economic leaders, trade union activists, workers, and employees.

On its arrival on Korean soil the Soviet trade union delegation laid wreaths at the Taesong-san Revolutionaries' Cemetery and the "Liberation" monument erected on Mount Moran-bong in the republic's capital in honor of the Soviet Army servicemen who fell in the fighting to liberate Korea from the Japanese invaders.

The photo exhibition "Soviet Trade Unions Today" was opened in the Central Workers House of the GFTUK Central Committee. The extensive exhibit tells of our people's achievements and of the trade unions' role in Soviet society. The exhibition shows what great attention Soviet working people and trade unions devote to developing relations of friendship and cooperation with DPRK trade unions and to strengthening solidarity with the Korean people's just struggle for their motherland's reunification.

On the same day talks began at the GFTUK Central Committee between the Soviet and Korean trade union delegations. The sides briefed each other on the involvement of USSR and DPRK trade unions in resolving the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 6th Workers Party of Korea Congress, and their trade union congresses. The contribution of the two countries' mass working people's organizations to raising labor productivity and enhancing social production efficiency and the people's well-being was mentioned. The AUCCTU chairman briefed his Korean colleagues in detail on the strategic policy drawn up by the CPSU of restructuring, accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, implementing a radical economic reform, further democratizing social life, and developing glasnost and socialist

self-management. The great importance of further strengthening the bonds of friendship between Soviet and Korean working people was emphasized at the talks, and specific questions of broadening and deepening all-around cooperation between our two countries' trade unions were discussed. It was pointed out that there is a clear guideline in this noble work—the fundamentally important results of the meetings and talks between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and president of the DPRK.

"Our first meetings with Korean working people and trade union workers," S.A. Shalayev pointed out to TRUD's correspondent, "have shown once again that we have common aims and tasks. These are socialist creation, the struggle to end the arms race, the removal of the danger of war, and a rebuff to imperialism's aggressive plans, including on the Asian Continent. It can be said with good reason that fraternal Soviet-Korean friendship was born and tempered in joint fighting for freedom and in peaceful labor for the good of our countries' peoples. Political, economic, and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and people's Korea is expanding with every year. Their cooperation aimed at consolidating security and ensuring peace in the Far East and in the Asia-Pacific region is growing stronger. The cohesion of our countries' working people based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism is now manifested in many specific matters. The Soviet people's loyalty to the lofty principles of internationalism is evidenced by their firm solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the motherland's peaceful, democratic reunification."

Talks are being held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Party Delegation Visits Laos

PM101019 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU party workers headed by O.A. Korolev, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, which had traveled to Laos to exchange experience of leadership of the activity of the capital's party organization, was in the country 27 February through 2 March in accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP].

The delegation was received by Sisavat Keobounphan, member of the LPRP Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the LPRP Central Committee, and first secretary of Vientiane party city committee.

Near East & South Asia

Envoy Rebukes Pakistan for 'Stalled' Talks

LD101634 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 10 TASS—Commenting on the progress of Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, a Soviet representative, Ambassador at Large Nikolay Kozyrev, expressed surprise at the fact that after the resolution of the key issue, one of the timeframe and phases of the Soviet troop withdrawal, the negotiations, far from making headway, had been stalled for a week now.

Instead of completing the documents and preparing them for signature, the Pakistani side, he said, had been simply marking time, evading agreement on some remaining issues and, moreover, putting forward fresh demands contrary to an understanding.

The Soviet representative told newsmen today that the Pakistani leadership had been attempting to link a political settlement to the formation of a new government in Afghanistan.

But such a linkage could only complicate matters and block the signing of the Geneva agreements and together with them the entire Afghanistan problem, Kozyrev said, explaining that it was the Geneva agreements, the termination of outside interference in Afghanistan's home affairs and the Soviet troop withdrawal that could create prerequisites for achieving peace and accord among all the Afghans.

If the Geneva agreements were not signed, one could not rule out another escalation of the blood-letting and fratricidal war in Afghanistan, he added.

One would like to hope, the Soviet representative said, that that was realized by those on whom the signature of the Geneva agreements depended today and that common sense would eventually prevail along with the awareness of the realities existing as regards an Afghan settlement.

Otherwise, it would be clear who would be to blame for the failure to sign the Geneva agreements which should play a highly important role in untying the Afghan knot and making the first rupture in the chain of regional conflicts, Kozyrev said.

'Obstacles' to Afghan Settlement Reviewed

LD091558 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—Commentator Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The personal envoy of the United Nations secretary general Diego Cordovez said referring to the first days of the Geneva Afghan-Pakistani talks on the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan that the proposals made by the Afghan side had made it possible to advance but that difficult and very complex work lay ahead.

What impedes a prompt signing of the agreements? And what is the difficult and very complex work to which Diego Cordovez referred?

To a large extent these are the artificially created difficulties by the Pakistani side. The question of forming a coalition government in Afghanistan is now called the "key issue". President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan has stated that the withdrawal of Soviet troops should be accompanied by the creation in Afghanistan of a government suitable to all. First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan Sattar speaks of the creation of a "transitional government" as a must. According to him such a government "will influence Pakistan's decision concerning the signing of the agreements". But this is a matter for the Afghan people itself to solve. It is up to the Afghan people to form a government it needs independently and without outside interference.

The Pakistani delegation is obviously procrastinating the talks and inventing ever new excuses. The impression is, as the French LE MONDE writes, that "to this day Pakistan has not clearly stated its position... and does not intend to sign the agreements until the question of creating a provisional government in Afghanistan is solved".

And this despite the fact that in Pakistan itself ever bigger political forces are coming out for the speediest reaching of agreement. The absolute majority of the 19 leaders of the Pakistani opposition who conducted a conference on the Afghan question with the participation of Prime Minister Junejo said it was necessary to use the historic chance and achieve a political settlement. Asghar Khan, chairman of the opposition Tehrik-i Istiqlal (TIP) party, said that direct Afghan-Pakistani talks should be conducted to expedite matter. Moreover, the head of the Pakistani delegation state minister for foreign affairs Noorani said that Pakistan's friends were advising it to sign the agreement with Kabul.

So why the hitch, why the additional invented "obstacles"? One of the causes was named recently by the Italian magazine PANORAMA. "For Islamabad this war is the biggest ever deal", it wrote. "Last year alone the United States provided aid to the sum of $715 million from Arab countries and the Western world". More than a half of the sum, the magazine says, wound up in the pockets of representatives of the Pakistani administration. It is these circles—arms merchants, various reactionary and expansionist forces that wax themselves rich on the misfortunes and woes of peoples, strive for personal enrichment, seek power and high government posts—that are doing everything to impede the political settlement or at least to drag this process out indefinitely.

The whole world is looking at Geneva with hope—the agreement is possible and close. What is needed now are maximum political will, resolve and a sense of responsibility to press for an end to the conflict without giving in to pressure and blackmail by opponents of the settlement.

Afghanistan's Wakil Views Geneva Peace Talks

Pakistan 'Dragging Out' Talks

LD092335 Moscow TASS in English 2320 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 10 TASS—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil said at a press conference here Wednesday that the Afghan delegation to the Afghan-Pakistani talks held through Diego Cordovez, personal envoy of the U.N. secretary general, showing political will and taking a constructive stand had agreed to a withdrawal of Soviet troops within nine months.

However, this joint positive step by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan had not found due response from Pakistan, Wakil said. Although Pakistan had insisted earlier that a solution of this key problem would leave no obstacles to agreement.

"Now we see that although all unresolved issues are practically settled, Pakistan is resorting to impermissible manoeuvring with a view to dragging out the talks and bringing them to a deadlock," Wakil said.

"One should say that the trip by Pakistani chief negotiator Noorani to Islamabad did not yield anything specific and definite. Actually he returned empty-handed. So it was a manoeuvre to gain time and prevent the completion and signing of agreements.

"The Pakistani side is ignoring the earlier-reached understanding that the sides should raise no new issues that could hinder the talks. In other words, Pakistan's current tactics are aimed at disrupting the course of these negotiations," the Afghan foreign minister said.

"Our stand is clear-cut. Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have done everything they could to settle the situation around Afghanistan. We hope that the remaining problems will be settled and the feeling of responsibility and political courage shown.

"This is why, despite the obstacles put up by Pakistan, Afghanistan is fully resolved to go forward, seek the solution of the problems, complete the drafting of an agreement and sign it. We are convinced that this is important for peace in the region and for peace around the world," Wakil said.

Answering newsmen's questions, Wakil said that the issue of forming a coalition government should not be decided either in Washington, or in Moscow, or in Islamabad, or in Geneva. This issue concerns only Afghans, he said, and they should decide it among themselves.

Wakil added that no country could impose its form of government to an independent and sovereign state as Afghanistan is.

"The Afghan leadership is seriously considering the issue of forming a coalition government on the basis of national unity. It will continue efforts in this direction and is not going to slow down the process of national reconciliation and the solution of the coalition government issue.

"It would be mistake to think that we will yield to Pakistan's diktat in this issue," the foreign minister said.

"According to the U.N. Charter and internal [as received] law, no state has a right to impose its terms on another state as regards the formation of a future government," Wakil emphasised.

"Thus, throughout the military rule of Ziaul Haq in Pakistan, Afghanistan has never demanded that the ruling regime in that country be toppled and that a democratic order be established there."

Wakil said that one could not draw parallels between U.S. assistance to opposition groups and the assistance the Soviet Union has rendered Afghanistan for 68 years.

"One should distinct [as received] between aid to terrorist groups and aid of one state to another. If the United States raises the issue of a "symmetrical" cessation of the assistance to opposition forces and the state of Afghanistan, we can demand that it cease military and financial aid to Pakistan," the Afghan minister emphasised.

Rejects U.S. Proposal

LD091933 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 9 TASS—Foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan 'Abdul Wakil has firmly turned down Washington's attempts to link the current Geneva Afghan-Pakistani negotiations with the question of putting an end to Soviet assistance to the Republic of Afghanistan.

Speaking at a press conference here, he underlined that the assistance being rendered by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan cannot be bracketed with "the assistance" provided by the United States to terrorist groups. 'Abdul Wakil, who leads the Afghan delegation to the Geneva negotiations, said that the attempts to put that question on the agenda of the negotiations being held through Diego Cordovez, a personal representative of the U.N. secretary general, may only hamper their successful outcome.

Pakistan meanwhile insists that the settlement should be linked with formation of "a transitional government", the foreign minister underlined. Islamabad's manoeuvres can lead the negotiations into a blind alley, he said. The question of formation of a coalition government can be discussed neither in Geneva nor in foreign capitals. This is the matter for the Afghans themselves, said the head of the Afghan delegation.

The Afghan foreign minister said that the agreement on a time schedule of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was a major accomplishement at the current round of negotiations. The agreement became possible owing to the constructive and flexible policy of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan. He underlined that the Afghan side was sincerely striving for the early and successful attainment of a political settlement and would continue exerting every effort in this direction, whatever new obstacles are raised by Islamabad. The beginning of withdrawal of the Soviet contingent meanwhile depends on the date of signing of Geneva accords, said Abdul Wakil.

'Can Guarantee' Afghan Security

PM081609 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Mar 88 p 1

[TASS reports under general heading: "Contribute to the Talks' Success"]

[Text] New York, 4 March—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan has sent the UN secretary general a letter asking him to contribute to the successful completion of the Afghan-Pakistani Geneva talks being held under UN auspices and to the signing of the agreements. This was announced at a press conference on Thursday by Shah Mohammad Dost, permanent Afghan representative to the United Nations.

Geneva, 4 March—The Geneva Afghan-Pakistani talks are proceeding in a favorable atmosphere and a positive and constructive spirit, and there are hopes that the situation around Afghanistan is finally going to be settled, 'Abdul Wakil, head of the Afghan delegation and Afghan foreign minister, said. Addressing a press conference, he emphasized that if Pakistan does not raise new obstacles in the way of progress at the talks, which are being conducted through Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general, real success could be achieved, that is, an agreement could be reached.

Considering the wishes of the Pakistani side and guided by the general spirit of the statements by President Najibullah and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 'Abdul Wakil said, the

Afghan delegation announced, after preliminary consultations with the Soviet Union, that the contingent of Soviet forces could be withdrawn within 9 months and, moreover, that half of the contingent could be withdrawn in the first 3 months. The fact that we have agreed on a 9-month deadline for the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent is evidence that we can guarantee the defense of our country's security and independence if there is an end to outside interference in Afghan internal affairs. We are in control of the situation in the country, the minister said.

He voiced the hope that the successful conclusion of the Geneva talks will help to solve Afghanistan's internal problems, including the formation of a national unity government, even a coalition government. The processes of forming a coalition government and settling the situation around Afghanistan are interconnected and seem to complement each other, although each of them has its own special features, 'Abdul Wakil explained. Success at Geneva will act as a spur to continue the process of national reconciliation and the formation of a national unity coalition government.

Further Commentary on Gulf War Missile Exchange
LD101333 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 10 Mar 88

["USSR's Position on Iraq-Iran Conflict"]

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

In the Soviet Union serious concern and profound regret are being expressed over the latest flareup of the "war of the cities" between Iran and Iraq.

It is believed in Moscow's diplomatic circles that it is complicating the search for a peaceful solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict, adding fuel to the war and intensifying mutual hostility and animosity.

In this alarming situation the Soviet Union has made the initiative for the U.N. Security Council to adopt as soon as possible a resolution demanding an immediate end to the "war of the cities" and restraint on the part of the warring sides.

The Soviet proposal provides for the appointment of a special representative of the U.N. secretary-general without delay for stepping up the international community's peace-making efforts regarding that conflict.

The special representative should immediately leave for Tehran and Baghdad and submit a report to the U.N. Security Council within a fortnight on the compliance with the resolution of both sides and on the attitude of Iraq and Iran to the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598.

With account taken of this report, it will be possible to take a decision on further steps by the U.N. Security Council towards putting an end to the war.

As to insinuations about the Soviet Union having something to do with the exchanges of missile blows between Iran and Iraq, they are utterly groundless.

The Soviet Union earlier supplied Iraq with a limited number of missiles of a short range which is not enough for delivering strikes to Tehran.

The Soviet side has not given any consent to any upgrading of the missiles with a view to increasing their range. Moreover, the supplies have from the very beginning been made conditional on there being no modernization of those missiles.

Attempts to portray things in such a way as to make the Soviet Union appear to have something to do with the "war of the cities" only reflect the striving by certain forces in the West, which are after their selfish goals, to distort the real picture and present the USSR in a bad light, by alleging that it is supplying Iraq with missiles that are hitting Iranian cities these days.

Arab Envoys Urge Soviet Peace Role in Gulf
LD101436 Kuwait KUNA in English 1339 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 10 (KUNA)—The Council of Arab Ambassadors to the Soviet Union has denounced "renewed Iranian fanning to the war of cities and random artillery shelling and missile attacks against Iraqi cities and residential areas."

In a statement distributed here Thursday, the council said Iran is continuing its aggression against Iraq, violating the U.N. charters and Security Council Resolution 598. While Iran is continuing attacks against Iraq, the latter has shown maximum self-restraint and expressed readiness to put an end for the protracted conflict, the statement noted. Emphasising that Iraq is "only reacting in self defence," the council calls on all peace loving quarters to work for "ending the Gulf war completely and not seek partial settlements."

The statement prodded the Soviet Union to intensify its efforts towards finding an immediate end to the "tragic conflict."

Meanwhile, a well informed Arab diplomatic source said the Arab League has lately asked Moscow to set a date for the visit of the Arab seven-man committee to Moscow within the coming week. The source told KUNA that the Arab League contacted the Soviet Government in that regard and asked if the visit can take place between present March 14-18.

The seven-man committee was assigned by the League to follow up developments of the Palestinian upheaval and contact capitals of the five permanent members in the Security Council.

Israeli, U.S. Reaction to Uprising Discussed

PM081101 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Observer Viktor Vinogradov "Military-Political Review": "Near East: Time for Real Decisions"]

[Text] The correspondent for Britain's THE OBSERVER simply did not believe it when a Palestinian youth in the Al-Khaliliyah Hospital said to him: "Israeli soldiers ordered us to lie on our stomachs and an army bulldozer began to cover us with earth." But it turned out that all this was the simple truth. The monstrous crime was committed on the West Bank of the Jordan. After brutally beating them, Israeli occupiers forced four villagers, including the Mustafa brothers and Musa Hamdan, to lie down. "After this," Sanidah Amir, the mother of five children, told journalists, "I saw through the window of my home a bulldozer begin to cover the guys with earth time after time on orders from an Israeli officer. When the soldiers drove off, I ran out to the fresh mound of earth and began to scrape at it. I managed to dig out Mustafa. People who came running at my shout saved the others."

Under the pressure of irrefutable evidence, the commander of the Israeli troops in the occupied Arab lands was forced to admit that four Palestinians had indeed been buried alive. But he immediately added that the two servicemen involved in this brutal outrage had been arrested.

Only two... Every day on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, tank and bulldozer engines roar, submachinegun and machinegun bursts rattle out, shells and tear gas bombs explode, and the moans of the wounded and cries for help can be heard. The Israeli soldiers' barbaric reprisals against the Palestinians, whose lands are occupied by Tel Aviv, continue. More and more names join the sorry list of those killed by Israeli bullets or crippled by nightsticks.

There are literally no bounds to the Tel Aviv rulers' hypocrisy. "We are only answering violence with violence," they state, not in the least embarrassed by the fact that their army is on foreign soil and that soldiers and police armed to the teeth are being resisted by people whose only weapons are stones or empty bottles. There are reports that Shomron, chief of the Israeli Armed Forces General Staff, has sent out an instruction ordering soldiers to avoid inflicting "blows to the head." But in all other respects they must, according to this document, show even "more brutality." This is humanity Israeli style! Even their own press has assessed the directive from the chief of the General Staff as an "additional instruction to implement the policy of beatings" put forward by Israeli Defense Minister Rabin.

The Palestinian people's uprising on the Tel Aviv-occupied lands has been going on for almost 3 months. Israeli soldiers have already killed 120 people. More than 8,000 Palestinians have been wounded and 7,000 arrested. A whole arsenal of repression, including special gases which the United States has just delivered to Tel Aviv, are being used for reprisals against those involved in anti-Israeli demonstrations. But nevertheless, an information bulletin issued by the PLO mission in the USSR stresses that the "Palestinians' heroic uprising will continue until the implementation of our legitimate national aspirations, above all, the creation of an independent Palestinian state on our native soil under the leadership of the PLO—the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Mass killings of Palestinians on Israeli-occupied soil constitute a manifestation of the policy of genocide against the Palestinian people and a scandalous violation of elementary human rights and the UN Charter and resolutions. Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, speaking to the participants in the 44th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, stressed that the Israeli occupiers have now expelled 60 percent of Palestinians from their native lands and the remainder continue to live under occupation, subject to brutal repressions and arbitrary rule on the part of the Israeli soldiery.

Regardless of expense ($350 million have already been spent on suppressing the uprising) or the moral losses (Israel is increasingly isolated in the international arena), Tel Aviv's ruling elite is trying to put the "Palestinian jinni" back in the "bottle of occupation" and return the situation to the point of departure. Yet not only political realities but also warnings from their own sober-minded figures such as, for instance, M. Bar-Zohar, former Knesset member, are being disregarded. "The Palestinians have been reduced to desperation by the hopelessness of their position," he warned. "We must agree that it must be changed."

But we must not expect such changes to come from official Tel Aviv. It is disregarding the precise and clear position defined in the UN Security Council resolution with regard to the situation on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip and is not taking into consideration the world community's condemnation of the terror and repressions against Palestinians. People in Tel Aviv refuse to see that the people's uprising on the occupied Arab territories has sharply changed the situation in the Near East region toward establishing a just and durable peace in the region. The Palestinians' struggle is continuing for that reason.

The Tel Aviv rulers are relying on Washington's total support for their actions. They continue to prepare new aggressive acts against the Arab states. Egypt's AL-WAFD points out that the "Memorandum on Mutual Understanding" signed between the United States and Israel late last year was an undoubted spur for this. Under this document Tel Aviv received a number of substantial privileges in the military sphere and has not failed to make use of them.

Israeli arsenals have begun to be swelled with large consignments of U.S. military equipment. For example, an additional 175 F-16 fighter-bombers have been supplied from across the ocean. The United States' military credits to Israel, which have enabled it to order three submarines for its Navy and transfer new troop contingents to the occupied lands, haves also increased. According to CBS TV, heavy U.S. armaments continue to be stored on Israeli territory, and, incidentally, Israel itself will gain access to them "if emergency circumstances arise."

It is also remarkable that a detachment of U.S. Navy ships, headed by the aircraft carrier "Coral Sea", arrived in Haifa "on a friendly visit." On board are 7,000 U.S. servicemen. Thus, Admiral J. Ready, commander of this detachment from the staff of the U.S. 6th Fleet, stated that "ships are ready where necessary to take part in active combat operations." On Israel's side, of course. What reason is there, you ask, for Tel Aviv to be disturbed or excessively modest when it has such a powerful "strategic ally" on its side? So Tel Aviv is also producing plans for new military adventures against its neighbors, engaging in saber rattling on its borders with them, and organizing various military maneuvers and exercises.

The continuing gamble on state terrorism with regard to the Arab states and the "iron fist" policy on the occupied Arab territories have placed the incumbent Israeli leadership in an extremely difficult position. It will not, of course, be able to get out of it with bayonets, dollars, and military supplies alone. It is no coincidence therefore that Washington has also rushed to produce a "new peace initiative" on the Near East. True, its "newness" is extremely relative, for this is the same old U.S. plan on which the principles of the Camp David deal were based. It proposes to secure an accord between Israel and Jordan on limited Palestinian self-government on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip by September with the help of a U.S. mediator, who will shuttle between these two states. Then, presumably in December, direct talks are to take place between Tel Aviv and Amman on the final status of the territories in question.

R. Murphy, assistant U.S. secretary of state for Near Eastern and Asian affairs, was the first to notify the interested parties of this plan. It was greeted, to be blunt, without enthusiasm. Now U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz is himself engaged in "pushing" the plan. What are the prospects for the "new" U.S. initiative? When G. Shultz held talks in Moscow this week, M. Gorbachev pointed out at the meeting that this plan is inconsistent and does not observe the principle of considering the interests of all the parties involved. It stresses interim measures and steps to which the USSR has no objection in principle. But, as many people are now aware, these can produce results only in the context of a decision to convene an international conference, that is, an all-embracing settlement.

Israel and the United States have been maneuvering for over 20 years in an attempt to legitimize the policy of aggression and expansion and recarve the map of the region as they see fit. The bloody wound of the Near East conflict is a consequence of this pernicious course. A clear and precise plan for the elimination of this conflict has been put forward by the Soviet Union and has gained broad support in the world community. Israeli troops must be withdrawn from all occupied Arab lands, the legal rights of the Arab people of Palestine implemented, and the secure existence of all states in the region ensured. This process must take place via an international conference under UN auspices involving all interested parties, including the PLO.

It is vitally necessary to eliminate the regional conflict in the Near East, as in Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, Central America, Southeast Asia, and the south of Africa. Both politics and practical actions must proceed on this basis.

Syrian Role in Mideast Reviewed

PM101113 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Glukhov dispatch: "The Syrian Factor"]

[Text] Damascus, March—Damascus is one of the liveliest international meeting points in the Near East. The visitors to the Syrian capital include politicians, businessmen, public figures, museum employees, scientists, doctors, students, and tourists. They have a broad range of interests. Some come to discuss topical problems, others to establish business ties, and yet others to acquaint themselves with the Syrians' life and achievements. More and more often, you can also encounter high-ranking Western figures here.

All-around contacts in our multifaceted and complex world are a normal natural phenomenon. But only a year ago the picture was quite different. The alarming, grim atmosphere of those days is still remembered. Various "radio voices" broadcast hostile anti-Syrian attacks, calls to create a "cordon sanitaire" around Syria, fabricated accusations of "terrorism," and announcements of sanctions against Damascus.

These undertakings, staged by London with the support of NATO and EEC countries, have failed. The attack misfired. The position of Damascus itself, calm and unyielding in the face of provocations and threats, cooled the heated anti-Syrian passions. The support offered to Syria by the socialist countries and by the international community took effect.

The Syrian people have yet again been tested for steadfastness and endurance and have not been found wanting.

It is no coincidence that the term "the Syrian factor" has become part of the Near East political lexicon. The Syrian factor is an objective reality which must be reckoned with. It is Syria's international weight, its increasing role in regional affairs and in the Arab-Israeli conflict. For it is this country which is in the front line of confrontation with the Israeli aggressors. It has an important place in the alignment of forces which has taken shape in the protracted conflict.

Syria is practically the only Arab state to oppose the aggressor in the military sphere. It must keep a large army under arms. Under conditions of continuing Israeli aggression, the Syrian factor is a key one.

Events in Lebanon, for instance, have demonstrated its weight. Relying on support from Syria, the country's patriotic forces wrecked the 17 May 1983 agreement which was foisted on Lebanon by Israel and the United States and secured the departure of the NATO "multinational forces" and the evacuation of the Israeli occupiers from most of the territory. With Syria's efforts at mediation, an agreement was secured on a process of national reconciliation in Lebanon, which was, admittedly, later wrecked by a coup in the right-wing Christian "Lebanese forces." The second entrance of Syrian troops into West Beirut in February 1987 helped to stabilize the situation in the Lebanese capital.

Syria has also frequently attempted to play a restraining role in the Iran-Iraq war by endeavoring to prevent the expansion of the conflict to the states of the Persian Gulf.

Syria's peace-loving potential is evident. What explains the fact that it has so far not been implemented in a Near East settlement?

The imperialists do not want genuine peace in the region, J. Kuriyya, presidential press adviser, said to me. Such a peace is impossible without the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and without an acknowledgment of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. But the United States has to this day made no statement on the subject. Using its veto, it has blocked the role of the United Nations in fulfilling the Security Council resolution.

We are on common ground, on a common base with the Soviet Union, welcoming its active participation in the Near East settlement. We favor an equitable, vigorous, fully empowered conference which would realize the main aim—the UN decisions, J. Kuriyya stressed. The Syrian position is clear. We advocate genuine peace and oppose the transformation of the Near East into the domain of imperialism, and we demand an end to the occupation of the Arab lands, for the aggressor has no right to count on the fruits of aggression. A gamble on force must not determine the future, my interlocutor concluded.

When talking about the Syrian factor, it is impossible not to talk about its components. One of them is the stability of the political regime. The Ba'th Party has been in power for 25 years. The Progressive National Front, encompassing the leading Syrian parties, was set up in 1972 to expand and strengthen the political base.

It is no secret that the cherished goal of the enemies of the Syrian people is to undermine the domestic front. They are changing their tactics. They are moving from frontal attacks to playing on objective difficulties.

The point is that the confrontation with Israel is itself associated with serious economic overloading and with the delay of development projects. Military expenditure swallows up more than one-half of the country's budget. According to figures in the journal MEMO [MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA i MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA], Syria's annual GNP growth rates have sharply declined. Whereas during the last decade they amounted to 9-10 percent, in recent years they have fallen to an average of 1.5 percent. A trade deficit has emerged and the food problem has become complex. In recent years, prices have increased several times over and the Syrian pound has been devalued.

Under these conditions, last year's anti-Syrian campaign was a clearly premeditated action. In setting up a "cordon sanitaire" around Syria, the West was trying to generate social tension, to intensify the dissatisfaction of private elements, to undermine the public sector, and to cause internal turmoil. They chose the most "sensitive" spots. Knowing about the complex food situation, Britain, for instance, managed to ensure that the "Common Market" blocked subsidies to Syria for grain purchases. The United States forbade the Export and Import Bank to offer Damascus any aid and called upon U.S. companies to stop all work in this country. The attempts to shatter the domestic front have not stopped even today.

In resisting the onslaught, Syria is, indisputably, drawing strength from general Arab support. But there are deep cracks even here. The financial aid given to Syria by Arab countries following the decision of the 1978 Baghdad Conference has sharply fallen. Damascus has complex relations with Iraq and there are still disagreements with the PLO. Syria and Egypt are on different planes.

In the very difficult situation created by the Near East crisis and imperialist plots and intrigues, cooperation with the socialist states has been and remains an invariable constant. Syria's fundamental course consists in the fact that under President H. al-Asad's leadership it maintains relations of friendship with the countries of socialism, primarily the Soviet Union, and with all progressive forces throughout the world, M. Salman, the Republic's minister for information, told me. Our friends offer us all-around assistance, giving us strength and determination in opposing the Israeli aggressors.

What is the potential of Soviet-Syrian cooperation? There are dozens of enterprises and thousands of highly qualified workers and specialists who work on joint construction sites. There is the land that has been developed and the cities that have been constructed. There is the bridling of the Euphrates, the taming of the desert, the strengthening of defense capability, and the storming of space. There is the development of ties between our countries, parties, and leaders. The joint quest for peace. I will cite the words of a Damascus trade union leader: "The very awareness that we are not alone and that we have a friend like the Soviet Union inspires in us a sense of confidence."

Algerian Ambassador Leaves for Home

PM091657 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Going Home"]

[Text] Abdallah Fadil, Algerian ambassador to the USSR, left Moscow 1 March.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Cape Verde Delegation Visits Moscow, Georgia

PM101145 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] An African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde [PAICV] delegation headed by Minister H. Vieira, member of the party's National Council, was in the Soviet Union 24 February through 3 March in accordance with the plan for party ties between the CPSU and the PAICV.

The Cape Verdian guests familiarized themselves with the experience of the CPSU's ideological work under the conditions of restructuring. The delegation was received by Yu.A. Sklyarov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. The delegation had meetings at the CPSU Central Committee International Department and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and visited a number of party educational establishments and industrial enterprises in Moscow and the Georgian SSR.

Economic Accord With Zimbabwe Ratified

PM291435 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Agreement Ratified"]

[Text] A.M. Glukhov, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Zimbabwe, and T.R. Mesiah, deputy minister of finance, economic planning, and development of the Republic of Zimbabwe, exchanged in Harare the instruments of ratification of the agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe on economic and technical cooperation, which was signed in Moscow 3 December 1985.

Problem of Hunger in Ethiopia Examined

PM081625 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Igor Tarutin dispatch under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Fight Against Famine"]

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa—"The words 'Ethiopia' and 'hunger' are seemingly becoming synonymous" was a pessimistic phrase I recently came across in a magazine. Alas, the shortage of food in the country is indeed chronic, reaching catastrophic proportions during periods of drought. [Passage omitted]

The Ethiopian Government is simply unable to cope on its own with the mass hunger during times of drought. It is forced to seek foreign aid. And it must be said that the international community does not remain unconcerned. Large consignments of food come from the West, including state aid. It is difficult to overestimate their importance in saving people's lives. The problem is a different one. Ad hoc food consignments are incapable of eliminating the causes of the crisis and preventing tragic recurrences. That needs deep structural changes. But here many overseas donors are not inclined to show generosity.

The brunt of the problem of improving the agrarian sector is borne not by the country's leadership, but by the Ethiopian population itself. It is now carrying out two massive programs to reorganize the countryside. The first involves the resettling of people from areas that suffer constant drought to regions with a more favorable climate, where land is unaffected. The second involves creating consolidated settlements instead of the traditional scattered farmsteads. Cooperatives are set up there quite often.

The forming of the peasantry into cooperatives undoubtedly serves as a major lever for the socioeconomic transformation of the countryside. I was able to see model production cooperatives, where they even had their own kindergartens. But they are nevertheless just lone beacons. There is no question at present of this

experiment being introduced on a mass scale. An appropriate material base and, indeed, a certain level of awareness are essential here.

I think that the Republic's fate depends in many respects on the successful solution of this problem. Nationwide efforts are needed if every Ethiopian is to be able to live a decent life without fear for the future and the dreadful word "hunger" is to be banished forever.

Briefs

Abidjan News Agreement

Abidjan, 3 Mar (TASS)—TASS and AGENCE IVOIRIENNE DE PRESSE (AIP) today in Abidjan signed a cooperation agreement in the sphere of information. The agreement was signed by B.I. Minakov, USSR ambassador to the Republic of the Ivory Coast, and Kobri Vlega [name as received], head of the Office of the Minister of Information, Culture, Youth, and Sports of the Ivory Coast. [Text] *[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 3 Mar 88 LD]*

Africa Reference Book Published

Moscow March 8 TASS—The staff of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other scientific centres together with the Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia Publishing House have prepared and issued a two-volume encyclopaedic reference book "Africa". The edition consists of a general survey and an alphabetically arranged portion with more than 3,500 entries, reports today's PRAVDA. In the reference book the reader can find explanations of another eight thousand terms reflecting the realities of the continent. The edition also gives a vivid idea of the present-day of Africa, and is richly illustrated (approximately 2,000 photographs, maps and charts most of which are colour ones). [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 8 Mar 88 LD]*

East Europe

CSSR Ministry Spokesman on Jakes Proposal

LD091902 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Prague March 9 TASS—Countries of the socialist community have voiced full support for the proposal by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes to create a zone of trust, cooperation and goodneighbourly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw treaty and NATO countries. CTK agency was told this in an interview by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Dusan Rovenski. It was already during preliminary consultations that Czechoslovakia's allies described this initiative as an important contribution to the implementation of the coordinated foreign policy of the fraternal countries, as a new step to concretise the results of the Budapest and Berlin meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw treaty member states. They particularly stressed that Czechoslovakia's proposal supplements and develops the previous initiatives of socialist countries concerning the creation of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Czechoslovakia's initiative was received with interest also in other countries of the world. Its comprehensive nature encompassing both military questions and cooperation in the economic and humanitarian sheres is positively noted first of all. Its importance in the context of the CSCE process and interconnection with the concept of an all-embracing system of international security is also stressed.

Factors 'Hamper' Cooperation With Hungary

PM091123 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the rubric "Journalist Poses Problem": "What Hampers the Partners?"]

[Text] Budapest, Feb—The agreement on creating a joint scientific collective has been signed. But how much time does it take for work to "get going"? Unfortunately, quite a lot. The Hungarian-Soviet collective for developing new systems for tapping and utilizing waste heat from power stations was first mentioned in documents in June 1986. The organizers were, on the Hungarian side, the Institute for Energy Resources, and on the Soviet side, "Teploelektroproyekt," "Atomteploelektroproyekt," and the USSR Gosagroprom's "Soyuzpromteplitsa" All-Union Production Association. But more than a year passed before two Soviet power industry researchers arrived in Budapest, and a third—an agrarian specialist—has still not arrived.

The Hungarian-Soviet scientific and technical collective in Szeged on problems of biotechnology, which is supposed to be studying genetic engineering and a number of other important fundamental research projects, is slow to "get going." The Ye.O. Paton Institute of Electric Welding in Kiev could also devote more efforts to its Hungarian partners and to the joint initiative to develop new materials and new technology.

TESTIMONY OF FIGURES. Seventeen Hungarian-Soviet joint laboratories, design bureaus, and groups have been set up (including 13 in 1987). The organization of another 16 bilateral scientific and technical collectives is "envisaged" not only on paper, but in actual fact. I was told this at the office of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology in Budapest.

Despite difficulties and bureaucratic obstacles, joint initiatives are increasingly noticeably proclaiming their existence and are increasingly closely linked to the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. I

visited the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Central Institute of Physical Research, which is cooperating with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research. Four instruments were jointly developed for the Soviet probes which approached Halley's Comet (the "Vega" project). Now the Hungarian-Soviet space research collective organized here is participating in the "Phobos" program.

"We had no time for dawdling," Laszlo Sabo, chief of the main department coordinating the entire range of work being done by the Hungarian side on "Phobos," says. "The flight to the satellite of Mars cannot be postponed. The onboard computers and the programs for them for the descent module must be ready by May. The launch will be in July. Work is being carried out jointly in both Budapest and in Moscow. Now the computer has already undergone ground tests and is being tested in space conditions."

TESTIMONY OF FIGURES. In this 5-year plan 210 types of new machines and instruments, 30 samples of materials, and more than 80 progressive technical processes are being developed on a bilateral basis. Some 70 percent of this joint work is implemented on a contractual basis (in the last 5-year plan the figure was 34 percent). Precisely 139 Hungarian institutes and enterprises are participating in research on 91 problems (and there are only 94 in all) formulated in the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000; 130 contracts for implementing corresponding projects have been concluded between Soviet and Hungarian scientific organizations and enterprises.

The orientation toward assimilating the results in production, economic accountability, and enterprise in introducing innovations and establishing the quantity to be produced cannot be reflected by these figures, of course. The effectiveness of the Comprehensive Program is still not overly high. Many problems still need to be resolved.

At "Dataplan," a small computer cooperative where 40 engineers-cum-shareholders work, I was shown products which had been developed here which were offered to the CEMA countries and which are still being bought for hard currency in the West.

"In 1986 three types of electronic memory were successfully tested in the Soviet Union," Cooperative Chairman Imre Nemeth says, "and received a high assessment, but there are no contracts. Why? Our products have still not been included in the trade schedules—the commodity contingent."

How many times have I heard the word "contingent" in a negative context: The commodity lists are agreed beforehand but it is difficult for the new products which have appeared to break into the CEMA countries' market. The rigid "linkage" [sbivka] of reciprocal deliveries for the 5-year plan is now simply hampering fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000—the development of precisely those priority spheres which are most fast-moving and dynamic. As Soviet foreign trade workers informed me, in 1987 it was easier for our organizations to buy a consignment of disks for hard currency than to get hold of "Dataplan's" innovations. The same waste of hard currency will also occur this year: The decision on what to offer in exchange will drown in a bureaucratic swamp of overregulation.

"More than 50 of the agreements concluded to fulfill the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 concern electronics and microelectronics," Laszlo Pal, chief of the No 1 Program (electronization) in the Hungarian State Committee for Technical Development, informed me. "I am convinced that the conclusion of contracts in the sphere of electronics planned by the Comprehensive Program must be increased first. We are planning 5 years ahead," Laszlo Pal continues, "but in electronics goods are obsolete in 2-3 years..."

If the renewal of electronic output on the world market reaches 40-50 percent per year, then to keep up with such speeds, the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 should, so to speak, be self-regulating—it is necessary to constantly refine and supplement the parameters of the entire innovation cycle. Only the cooperating enterprises themselves can do this, the Hungarian specialists believe.

One of the main participants on the Hungarian side in fulfilling the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 is the "Videoton" enterprise. The electronic equipment of this well-known firm can be found today in hundreds of places in the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries—in power engineering, in the petroleum industry, on the railroads, and among geologists.

Otto Molnar, general director of the "Videoton" industrial and foreign trade association, believes the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 has helped "Videoton" focus its efforts on those areas where a good start had been made and where production traditions have developed. But time flies—renewal should proceed even more quickly. The general director showed me contracts which include the firm in work on creating jointly with Soviet specialists a gas pipeline control network on Soviet territory, television systems for seeking mineral resources in the ocean deeps, and navigation satellite systems for the maritime fleet. The question of organizing a joint enterprise is also being examined.

But the acute imbalance between exports and imports which has emerged between our countries recently will impede further ties. For this reason the Hungarian side is delaying the signing and implementation of new contracts in the scientific and technical sphere. Soviet enterprises which for decades have considered export work burdensome even now are not extending the range of modern goods which can be sold in Hungary. All this now threatens the practical implementation of many important joint projects already agreed under the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. TESTIMONY OF FIGURES. Of the two dozen types of Soviet products exported to Hungary, only half meet modern technical standards. One-fifth of them need to be replaced by more modern products.

Difficulties in resolving questions of financing many joint collectives, distributing profits, agreeing on prices, and rapidly introducing into industry the models created have not been eliminated. But there are also positive examples—that is, these difficult questions can also be successfully resolved.

In March 1987 an agreement was signed between the 4 April Machine Building Combine and Soviet partners—the "Krasnyy Kotelshchik" industrial association from Taganrog and a research institute carrying out projects in the sphere of power machine building—on the joint creation of water treatment equipment for nuclear power stations and other power plants which is not up to the best world standards. By December documentation was prepared for several projects. Now questions of prices are being vigorously discussed. Moreover, production cooperation is being organized—and thus the question of "inclusion" in the contingent is removed. The partners hope that at the end of this year their joint "offspring" will come into operation. The joint scientific and technical collective has already mapped out avenues for other coproduction deliveries between the Hungarian side and "Krasnyy Kotelshchik."

It is obvious that fulfilling the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 requires a quest for new approaches toward cooperation problems, requires efficient dynamism and "electronic" speed and accuracy. But the main concern is the new economic thinking and desire to work.

Further on Sejm Delegation Visit
PM091653 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation's Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of the Polish Sejm's Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance Commission headed by its chairman, J. Kaczmarek, arrived in Moscow 29 February for a visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' Planning and Budget Commissions.

N.I. Maslennikov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Planning and Budget Commission and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, met with the delegation. He described to the guests the work of restructuring and democratizing Soviet society.

J. Kaczmarek expressed the hope that the delegaton's visit will serve to further develop cooperation between the two countries' parliaments.

L.V. Radyukevich, secretary of the Soviet of the Union Planning and Budget Commission, participated in the conversation.

The delegation had a conversation at the USSR Ministry of Finance on the same day.

Polish National Group Signs Cooperation Document
PM091655 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Agreement Signed"]

[Text] Ways of further expanding cooperation between the Soviet and Polish people have been outlined in an agreement on cooperation between the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Polish Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). The document, signed in Moscow 29 February, is a concrete example of the implementation of the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the ideological, scientific, and cultural spheres.

J. Dobraczunski, PRON National Council chairman, said our movement, which was born during a difficult time for Poland, aims to unite the efforts of the party and all the people in building a socialist Poland. This agreement offers good prospects for further consolidating Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation and for improving the activity of social organizations on behalf of peace.

S. Ciosek, PRON National Council general secretary and PZPR Central Committee secretary, other members of the National Council delegation, and W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, were present at the signing.

Balkan Forum Seen as 'Important, Positive' Step
PM100959 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "ZERI I POPULLIT Commentary"]

[Text] Tirana, 2 Mar—The first meeting of foreign ministers from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia is an event of special significance for the peoples of this region, according to the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in an editorial article circulated by ATA.

The problems discussed at the meeting and the broad exchange of opinions regarding many bilateral and multilateral issues are a real contribution to the task of improving the political atmosphere in the region and serve to promote detente and to create the conditions for development and cooperation in all areas where the interests of the Balkan countries coincide.

The meeting reflected the willingness of the Balkan countries' governments for fruitful dialogue so that this region can become a zone of peace and cooperation; they also displayed a constructive spirit and a sense of responsibility for the common fate of the region. All this inspires hopes of a beginning of valuable work to improve relations between the Balkan states at the regional and bilateral levels.

According to the communique, the foreign ministers agreed to take a series of real measures whose implementation will help to improve the political atmosphere in the region and advance cooperation between the Balkan countries.

The problems in the Balkans are numerous and complex. They are inherited from the past but are still relevant now, the article stresses. No one thinks they can be solved at one or even several meetings. We are realists. That is why we believe this region will realize what it is capable of realizing at the present time and in the present conditions. An important, positive step has been taken. Its usefulness will be judged in the future depending on the real results which follow in the form of the materialization of the ideas and proposals contained in the communique. Socialist Albania has supported and will continue to give priority support to any constructive initiative that will contribute to improving relations with neighboring countries and the situation in the Balkans. It will support any measure and any initiative serving the cause of peace and stability in the region and beyond its borders. Expressing their satisfaction with the greater harmony and cooperation between them, the Balkan countries must clearly state that they do not want their region to become an oasis shut off from Europe and from the rest of the world. On the contrary, peace and calm in the Balkans will contribute to peace and security in general.

In his message of greeting to the meeting of Balkan states' foreign ministers, Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasized: "The new, socialist Albania has a particular interest and will continue to have a particular interest in seeing peace and harmony prevail between the Balkan peoples as well as stability and a spirit of cooperation. It considers a policy of good-neighborliness to be a constant feature in relations between all the Balkan states."

Our country will resolutely follow this path, the newspaper points out. The Albanian people welcome the positive results of this meeting and hope that it is followed up by other real measures to the benefit of cooperation and harmony between the Balkan peoples.

Gorbachev's Book Published in SFRY

LD091829 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] Belgrade March 9 TASS—The book "Perestroyka and New Thinking" by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev has been issued in a mass edition in Skopje. The book, issued in the Macedonian language, has been launched today, the TANJUG news agency reports. Readers showed profound interest in the book.

Briefs

SFRY Power Set Contract

Tekhnopromeksport association and Yugoslavia's Energoinvest have signed a contract for the installation by the Soviet side of a 500 megawatt power set in the town of Tuzla. This is the first time Tekhnopromeksport is to export a set of that capacity. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 5 Mar 88 LD*]

Bulgarians Cosmonaut Training

Participants in a future Soviet-Bulgarian joint space venture are undergoing training at Star City near Moscow. The flight is slated for this June. Together with Soviet space hopefuls, two Bulgarians are studying space technology. They are Aleksandur Aleksandrov and Krasimir Stoyanov. Nine years ago, Aleksandrov underwent training at Star City as a standby of Bulgaria's first space Georgi Ivanov. Then he took the post of deputy director of his country's space research institute. Aleksandrov himself conceived and prepared several space experiments that are to be executed during the coming mission. [Text] [*Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 8 Mar 88 LD*]

Bulgarian-Soviet Trust Founded

"Biotechmash" is the newest Bulgarian-Soviet trust, which will implement uniform scientific-technical and production policy to better satisfy the needs of the two countries concerning machine building production for biotechnological processes. It is only one of the results achieved during the visit to Bulgaria by Valeriy Bykov, USSR minister of medical and microbiological industry. [Excerpt] [*Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Feb 88 p 2 AU*]

West Europe

KGB 'Espionage' Methods Noted in Swedish Paper

PM100937 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Mar 88 p 6

[Roger Magnergard report: "KGB Espionage in Sweden Revealed in Party Newspaper"]

[Text] The Estonian Communist Party's own newspaper, RAHVA HAAL, spoke openly in two editions at the end of February of the KGB's espionage in Sweden, and described, for example, how Estonian exile organizations in Stockholm are infiltrated.

In the articles the Soviet KGB infiltrator is called Voldemar Holm and is a seaman. According to information provided by Estonians in Sweden it was the same Holm who gave the then head of the Estonian Aid Center, Ants Kippar, the information that 12 Estonians, who had been forcibly drafted to Chernobyl after the disaster there, had been shot. The report proved to be false.

"The aim of the articles was probably to frighten the Estonian population on the eve of the celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the republic of Estonia's declaration of independence, 24 February," Estonian dissident Tiit Madisson, who moved to Sweden in September last year, told SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

"The party wanted to show that the opposition in Estonia is controlled by Western intelligence agencies."

SVENSKA DAGBLADET has tried to check several of the facts quoted in the articles, including the assertion that Estonian emigres work as stevedores in the port of Stockholm. Those people on the port authority and in the security police with whom SVENSKA DAGBLADET has spoken say, however, that they do not know of any such workers. Ants Kippar, who is a central figure in both articles, died in January 1987.

Much of his work at the Estonian Aid Center was to do with giving the public access to information from and about Estonia. To get this information out of Estonia he had contacts with a number of people who could travel to and from the country, including Voldemar Holm.

However, at the Estonian Aid Center there were suspicions that Holm and his colleagues were working for the KGB.

In RAHVA HAAL Voldemar Holm says that he is a Soviet citizen and has worked in the Soviet merchant fleet since 1969. During these years of service he has "often traveled to capitalist countries."

In 1981 he was given a post on a ship in regular traffic between Tallinn and Stockholm. It was in the port of Stockholm that he met Estonian emigres who were working as stevedores and service personnel.

Holm says that one of the dockworkers had strongly nationalist sympathies and spoke of the Soviet occupation in very negative terms. This dockworker also gave Holm anti-Soviet material.

The dockworker also talked about the "important person," Ants Kippar, whom Holm should meet.

Holm then went to the KGB and was given instructions to further develop his contacts with Kippar. He "talked through an operational plan according to which he was to try to worm his way into the aid center's work."

Kippar and Holm met at a restaurant outside Stockholm. Holm continued to develop his contacts and eventually was given the task of taking some papers to Estonia. These were papers which he himself describes as worthless.

After a while Kippar behaved as if he trusted Holm completely, at the same time as others at the Estonian Aid Center were constantly testing his trustworthiness.

According to Holm himself, he smuggled documents, money, miniature cameras, miniature tape recorders, and video cameras to Estonia—things which he handed over to the KGB without exception.

Holm says that he saw the aid center's books, from which it was very clear that the money came from Western intelligence agencies.

According to Holm the majority of Estonians in Sweden are politically neutral and have no interest in Kippar's "dirty handiwork." However, people who did make a good impression on the Soviet seaman were the Estonian KGB officers he met in Sweden. These he describes as "educated and intellectual."

"There have been suspicions about Holm since 1983," Madisson told SVENSKA DAGBLADET. "That was when he planted compromising material on three dissidents the day before the KGB searched their homes. He said that this was material from Ants Kippar."

These three were released at the end of 1986 and were able to tell of Holm's visits. As a result the opposition in Estonia had weighty evidence against Holm and his group. When important documents, which were later to be sent to Estonia and which were sent through Holm's group, disappeared, this was thought to be the final proof.

SS-20 Transporters Find New Use in Joint Venture

PM091031 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 3

[I. Belov report under the rubric "Reporting Details": "Cranes Instead of Missiles"]

[Excerpt] Transporters for Soviet intermediate-range missiles, known in the West as SS-20's, with powerful cranes made in West Germany installed on them. Could this have been imagined a few years ago? In a few months this should become a reality.

In September last year an agreement was signed for the creation of one of the first Soviet-West German joint enterprises. Its founders are the January Uprising Heavy Crane Building Production Association and the firm "Liebherr" (Baden-Wuerttemberg Land.) By joining forces, the partners intend this year to manufacture at the newly established production unit in Odessa several dozen modern self-propelled cranes with a lifting capacity of 45 and 60 tonnes each with equipment from the

"Liebherr" firm. In 4 years the production capacity of cranes on transporters with pneumatic suspension will increase to 700 per year. Those who wish to see the first joint production mass-produced models can visit the international exhibition "Stroydormash 88," which will open 25 May in Moscow. [passage omitted]

FRG Nuclear Shipment Called 'Act of War'

PM081137 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88 First Edition p 5

[L. Makarevich article: "Underground Uranium. New Light on the Secret War on the Legal and Illegal Nuclear Markets"]

[Text] A "catastrophic and swinish trick." That was how Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of West Germany's Baden-Wuerttemberg Land, described the cases that have come to light during the ongoing "nuclear scandal" in the FRG.

From the outset people have been trying to place strict limits on the investigation (even Interpol has been involved).

So there is a second and third "false bottom" to the story. Just what specifically are they trying to hide?

The Internuklear subsidiary of the West German company Nukem helped Pakistani researchers to create nuclear weapons.

Illegal ties between Nukem and another FRG company—Transnuklear—and Islamabad were also maintained via the Brussels firm Belge Nucleaire, which has passed on nuclear materials and technology to the Pakistanis for many years.

Essentially each secret shipment is an act of war in the continuing struggle for power on the legal and illegal nuclear technology and fuel markets, which in Western special services' jargon is called the "gray market." The struggle is being waged by two groupings. One is headed by Washington and the other by Paris (which was the first country in the West to dare to challenge transatlantic nuclear hegemony) and Bonn. Pakistan is a military theater for both warring parties.

Pakistan has skillfully capitalized on the rivalry between the giants. The nuclear program at Kahuta and Sikhale [name as published] code-named "Project 706" has been under way since 1972. Knowing almost by heart the names and addresses of the suppliers from whom the necessary materials and components may be bought, Abdul Qadir Khan, a leading Pakistani nuclear scientist, filled in the necessary application forms, which were then sent to Pakistani Embassy staffers and intelligence services in France and other West European countries.

Upon coming to office the Reagan administration gave Islamabad military and economic aid worth $3.2 billion. Yet the official congressional ban on shipments of certain types of nuclear raw material and equipment remained in force.

Pakistan continued to have its finger in many pies, including French and German pies.

In an interview with TIME magazine, Ziaul Haq boasted: "Today you can write that Islamabad is able to build the bomb."

Overseas the general's words were understood in just one way—the West Europeans had humiliated the United States over Pakistan. This was not only a success for the secret diplomacy of Paris and Bonn. The United States was deprived of important orders because its firms had lost their scientific and technical leadership.

This could not be tolerated overseas. On 17 November 1986 left-wing "Action Directe" thugs killed George Besse, a leading figure in the French nuclear industry (see SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for 29 January 1988), who played an important role in the Pakistani nuclear program.

A little while before in the FRG the same fate befell Karl Heinz Beckurts, a member of the Siemens board of directors, who had never made any secret of his anti-Americanism. Within Siemens Doctor Bekkurts—a nuclear physicist by speciality—was in charge of the research and technology department, which employs 36,000 people. He had previously been head of the nuclear center at Juelich.

December 1987. Congress has approved the Reagan administration's request for a no-strings 30-month renewal of aid (for another $4 billion) to Ziaul Haq. The congressmen were acting in the right direction. General G. Crist, head of the U.S. Central Command, who arrived in Islamabad at the end of last year, received confirmation that U.S. P-3 Orion aircraft could use Pakistani airfields, U.S. warships could use Pakistani ports, and the rapid deployment force could use 32 bases in Baluchistan Province.

Meanwhile behind the scenes of the "nuclear scandal" in West Germany yet another participant was discovered whose presence people are now trying to hush up—Mosad, the Israeli secret service. It was Mosad that was the secret source of the sensational revelations in the press.

The story of the Israeli bomb is a detective story just like the Pakistani nuclear program, with the intrigues, kidnappings, and killings so prevalent in the secret war of the secret services. Tel Aviv, like Islamabad, masterfully exploits the rivalry between the French and the Americans and—on a broader scale—the contradictions

between West Europe and the United States. This allows Israel to obtain raw materials, fuel, technology, and equipment from many sources with no delays.

As an example take the story of the shipment of 200 tonnes of unenriched uranium from West Germany. Tel Aviv bought the raw material officially, although it did not draw attention to the deal. But to ensure that Bonn was not accused of complicity Mosad set up a robbery.

...On a lovely May day in 1983 the center of Rome was cordoned off by police. Soldiers under the direction of experts wielding Geiger counters cautiously started digging alongside a pile of construction waste. Three lead containers were soon unearthed and the counters immediately started clicking alarmingly: radioactivity! With extreme caution the containers were loaded onto a truck and then, with wailing sirens terrifying passersby, were delivered to the Rome Nuclear Research Center. There it was rapidly determined that the cases contained enriched uranium.

Thus ended an operation that had started with the arrest of a small-time mafioso. He broke down during questioning and told the astonished detectives that his gang specialized not in rackets and prostitution, but in fissionable material, which he and his accomplices stole and resold abroad, specifically to Israel. It also transpired that the Italian Mafia's illegal "nuclear business" is secretly protected by the CIA and the DIA (Pentagon intelligence).

The ease with which "Mosad" operates in the United States is also striking. A uranium enrichment plant belonging to the Nuclear Materials end Equipment Corporation (NUMEQ) set up by the chemist Zalman Shapiro [name as published] has been operating for many years now in the town of Apollo, Pennsylvania. Shapiro also runs the "Izorad" [name as published] company in Israel, which produces nuclear equipment.

The uranium produced at the Apollo plant is intended for the U.S. Armed Forces and private companies. Customers (including foreigners) supply their raw materials and receive the finished product. It was these "private traders" who kicked up a fuss when they discovered that some of their highly valuable materials were disappearing somewhere without trace. In all, more than 340 kg of highly enriched uranium has "disappeared" in the plant's first 20 years of operation.

It was no great problem for the U.S. special services to establish where the the stolen uranium was being shipped—the Negev Desert. Shapiro also had good contacts with the Israeli Embassy in Washington—contacts which were maintained with the aid of a special "untappable" phone and a code that had not been "broken" by the FBI. Things did not go as far as an arrest, however. Richard Helms, the former CIA director, still remembers President Lyndon Johnson's order to cover up the smuggling case....

The pursuit of uranium and technology is just one of "Mosad's" tasks in the nuclear sphere. The secret war against those who could pose a real or potential threat to Tel Aviv in this sphere is no less important.

On a quiet June evening in 1980 a room at the Paris Meridien Hotel was turned into a torture chamber. The torture lasted all night. When the detectives and forensic scientists called in by the management in the morning examined the body spattered with blood from a broken skull, even they—who had seen it all—were amazed by the torturers' cruelty.

The dead man was a 48-year-old nuclear scientist named Yahya al-Mushat, who worked with the Iraqi Nuclear Commission. He had come to Paris to work at the Atomic Energy Commissariat's research center. The police did not find the killers or establish the motive.

The motive was stated a year later by Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali, who publicly accused the Israeli "Mosad" service of the killing. According to him Yahya al-Mushat was a leading nuclear physicist. He was highly valued in Egypt and Iraq, where along with the French he helped to build the national nuclear center at Tammuz. Through torture the "Mosad" agents wanted to wring information from the scientist about the progress of the work. The information was very important. The Israeli Government headed by Menahem Begin approved the plan to attack the Iraqi center. On 7 June 1981 a group of F-15 and F-16 fighters flew off from an Israeli airfield. A few minutes later they reached their target and carried out a missile and bombing strike.

Islamabad was another target for the Tel Aviv special services. The Israelis were afraid that a Pakistani bomb could fall into the hands of other Islamic states. A great deal points to "Mosad" being behind the "abduction" of Pakistanis in the United States when, through their people, they were trying to steal the materials and sophisticated technology they needed.

To prevent the transportation of nuclear materials from the FRG to Pakistan, "Mosad" developed a plan for kidnapping West German scientists collaborating with Islamabad on the creation of the bomb. The operation was foiled by a banal incident. A "Mosad" agent in Munich left his briefcase with 10 forged British passports in a phone booth. They were found by a passerby, who took the documents to the police. The operation was foiled. Then another route was chosen—scandalous information about machinations on the "gray market" was "leaked" to the press.

It is still hard to say how the "nuclear scandal" in the FRG will end. People are trying to keep the development of events under control. Meanwhile the body count of distinguished corpses is getting longer. Hans Holtz, a "Transnuklear" manager, was found dead in a Hanau prison cell having had an artery slashed with a razor. The

body of an employee of the "Preussen-Elektriek" firm, which is also involved in machinations, was found cut to ribbons on a railroad line in Hanover... Who is next?

Further on Austrian Muhri's Talks With Gorbachev
PM091254 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "F. Muhri's Speech"]

[Text] Vienna, 7 Mar—Franz Muhri, Communist Party of Austria [KPOe] chairman, today addressed a news conference here, in the course of which he spoke about the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and the KPOe delegation which visited Moscow last week. As F. Muhri noted, during the conversation there was a broad exchange of opinions on questions of the international situation. The unanimous conviction was expressed that the struggle for disarmament and peace will remain the most important task of communists and all progressive and peace-loving forces. We were also united in the view that the Soviet Union's peace offensive, conducted on the basis of the new political thinking, is, as the experience of the last 2 years has shown, the correct path. The first practical result, real result, in the disarmament sphere was achieved during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington. It is now a question of fulfilling the accords reached, and also taking further steps both in the nuclear disarmament sphere and in the sphere of conventional arms reduction. We came out together against the aspirations of militarist circles in the West, which want to exploit the destruction of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles for the purposes of so-called "compensation" in other spheres, that is, for continuing the arms buildup. We Austrian Communists, the KPOe chairman said, consider it our important task in future, together with all peace-loving forces, to struggle for neutral Austria to make an active contribution to the cause of ensuring peace.

During the meeting held in Moscow, he continued, M.S. Gorbachev—and here we share his opinion—noted the significance of the neutral states' contribution to the European process. He expressed understanding of the Austrian Communists' desire to act in such a way as to increase Austria's contribution to the normalization of the European and international situation, which they associate with the consistent observance of the State Treaty.

M.S. Gorbachev's remarks on building a "common European home" and on Austria's contribution to this work, F. Muhri noted, accord fully with the interests of peace, the strengthening of all-European cooperation, and the full implementation of every aspect of the Helsinki Final Act, and thus our country's national interests.

As for Soviet-Austrian ties, it was noted that both sides have come out and will continue to come out for the all-around development of good relations between the USSR and neutral Austria. The KPOe representatives stressed the particular significance of economic cooepration and came out in favor of its further development.

F. Muhri stated that in the course of the conversation the delegation members, on behalf of the KPOe, expressed full solidarity with all aspects of the restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Ryzhkov Sends Greetings to Spanish Art Festival
LD081809 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 8 TASS—The head of the Soviet Government, Nikolay Ryzhkov, has sent a message of greetings to the participants in the Soviet Art Festival in Spain. The message says:

"I cordially greet the participants, guests and organizers of the Soviet Art Festival which is being held on the ancient and hospitable land of Spain these days.

"I am confident that the festival, just as the Spanish Art Festival which has been held in our country, will become an important stage in the development of dynamic cooperation in the field of culture between the Soviet Union and Spain. Our cooperation has long-standing traditions. Mutual interest of the peoples of our two countries in the cultural values of each other dates back to antiquity. Wider cultural contacts will promote further mutual understanding between the two peoples.

"In our intranquil and anxious age full of contradictions and dangers, cultural exchanges have a broader meaning than just satisfying the artistic requirements of people. Culture and art, and contacts between creative people nowadays play a special role in asserting the ideals of humanism, peace and mankind's progress.

"Allow me to express hope that the Soviet Art Festival in Spain will serve to bring our cultures closer together, and to promote successful development of Soviet-Spanish relations for the benefit of our two peoples."

CPSU Delegation Returns From Malta
PM101143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Returns"]

[Text] The CPSU delegation headed by I.A. Shvets, leader of the CPSU Central Committee Party Organizational Work Department's Consultative Group, which was in Malta at the invitation of the Communist Party of Malta Central Committee, has returned to Moscow from Valletta.

Briefs

PRAVDA Digest in UK

One of Britain's major printing companies, It Matters, has undertaken to release a monthly digest of the Soviet national daily PRAVDA in English. Such publications have appeared in Britain before and evoked a great deal of interest. Part of the edition of the new digest is to be delivered to subscribers in the United States and Canada. [Text] [*Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 8 Mar 88 LD*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Panama: Maneuvers 'Prelude' to 'Intervention'
LD101009 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 10 TASS—According to reports coming here, the U.S. war games are going on in the Panama Canal Zone. The Panamanian Government regards them as a prelude to Washington's armed intervention against the country. Thousands of U.S. troops stationed at 14 U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone are on an enhanced alert. The U.S. South Command completely banned visits to its military bases by outside people, including Western diplomats having special passes. Restrictions are put on movements of military and civil personnel of bases in the Panamanian capital and in the city of Colon, and their relatives were told to leave for the United States.

Bases stage daily training operations on evacuation of personnel. The PRENSA LATINA agency reports that U.S. transport helicopters are always airborne in the area of the military base Sherman. The number of heavy transport planes Hercules using the runway of the Howard Base has increased considerably. A large U.S. amphibious transport ship armed with warplanes and helicopters patrols off the Panamanian coast.

PRENSA LATIN points out that information appeared in journalistic and diplomatic quarters of Panama after the start of the exercise conducted by Washington without a preliminary consultation with the Panamanian Government that the United States is engineering an attempt on the life or an abduction of Brigadier General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the Panamanian Defence Forces, who actively and consistently stands out in defence of the country's national sovereignty.

Uruguayan President Previews Visit to USSR
PM091535 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Montevideo, 2 Mar—Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti has pointed out the important significance of his forthcoming official visit to the Soviet Union.

Answering a question by our TASS correspondent at a press conference held here on Tuesday, the president said: As head of state I have already visited a number of countries and met their leaders. I am soon to visit the Soviet Union, one of the two biggest powers in the world and a country with which Uruguay has maintained diplomatic relations for more than 60 years.

One of the main aims of my visit is to have a direct dialogue with the Soviet leaders on the most important issues concerning international relations. I am mainly thinking of the Soviet-U.S. talks and the accords designed to achieve universal peace.

Soviet-U.S. dialogue, Julio Maria Sanguinetti emphasized, is one of the most important events at the end of this century. Countries like Uruguay should not watch from afar but give these problems a great deal of attention, because they bear directly on their future also. We must discuss them with the dialogue's participants.

There is no doubt, the president continued, that it is important for us to discuss another very major political event of our time with the Soviet leaders—restructuring in the Soviet Union, the substance of which is explained by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his book "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World."

As the Uruguayan head of state pointed out, discussing bilateral trade and economic ties will have great significance during his visit. Reciprocal trade must be enlivened, he said, and stimulated as far as our real potential allows.

Gorbachev's Perestroyka Book Presented in Havana
LD081139 Moscow TASS in English 1045 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 8 TASS—The presentation of the book "Perestroyka and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World" by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been held in the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association.

The book has been put out by the Cuban political literature publishing house. The presentation ceremony was attended by Carlos Aldana, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Introducing the Soviet leader's book, Hugo Chinea, director of the publishing house, pointed out that it contained reflections on perestroyka, on problems facing the country, on the scope of changes, and on the complexity, responsibility and inimitability of our time. He described the publication of Mikhail Gorbachev's book in Cuba as an event of great socio-political importance. From now on the Cuban readers will be able to get acquainted better with the basic ideas of perestroyka and acceleration of the socio-economic development of the Soviet Union and revitalisation of all spheres of Soviet society's life.

Political & Social

Armenians Call Strike; Central Committee Meets

'Confusion' in Moscow

LD091458 Hamburg DPA in German 1406 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Confusion reigned in Moscow today on the strike resolutions in Armenia and the number of Armenians killed in Sumgait in the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan. As was said in human rights circles, the Armenian population had been called on to hold an hour-long general strike on Friday. Thus, force will be added to the call for a commission to be set up to investigate the "pogroms in Sumgait" and that the perpetrators should be severely punished. The strike is being organized by the "National Self-Determination" group. It was hinted in human rights circles that telephone connections to and from Armenia are "difficult." [passage omitted]

Confusion continues on the extent of the attacks on the Armenian population. In human rights circles there was talk of between 150-330 dead in Sumgait alone—the city is about 30km from the Azerbaijani capital Baku—and around 1,000 injured in other regions. Officially, the figure of 31 has been quoted. The Armenian exile organization Dachnal yesterday in Paris talked of 1,500 dead. The spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Gennadiy Gerasimov, today gave the figure of 32 dead in Sumgait to journalists. As far as the number of injured is concerned, Gerasimov gave an evasive answer. This figure is "logically higher." The curfew in Sumgait continues. However, the situation there is "normal." Journalists are still not allowed to travel to the region. [passage omitted]

The Armenian community's priest intends to travel to the Armenian capital Yerevan tomorrow in order to consult with the head of the church there. According to him, several of those who had fled are sitting in Moscow's rail stations with their families. They are afraid to return home.

Stalin Era Root Cause

LD091614 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] We follow with a report on the developments in Armenia and Azerbaijan from Yegor Yakovlev, editor in chief of the Soviet weekly MOSCOW NEWS. The opinion is taken from an article in the weekly.

Yegor Yakovlev refers to the unrest that followed demands by some Armenians in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh that the region be taken from Azerbaijan and joined to the Armenian Republic. The situation has returned to normal after public order had been violated. He notes that 31 people were killed in the same period by criminal elements in the Azerbaijani town of Sumgait and that earlier there were clashes in Alma-Ata in the Republic of Kazakhstan; that the Crimean Tatars had put demands before the USSR Supreme Soviet and also groups in the Baltic republics tried to provoke local conflicts.

Setting forward the reasons for these happenings, Yegor Yakovlev writes: Many blunders were made in the nationalities policy in past years. There was much talk about the close friendship of the various nationalities in the USSR but at the same time cultural exchanges between them were impeded and barriers were put in the way of school instruction in the native language. And this happened in Nagorno-Karabakh as well as in other regions. Local Armenians found it difficult to maintain close contacts with the Armenian Republic. These violations of internationalist principles are rooted in the times when Stalin had the last word on ethnic relations and the nationalities issue became something closed to public discussion. The more recent period of stagnation didn't improve matters either. Now there is an urgent need to give the various republics more rights and improve relations between them.

The Communist Party Central Committee plans to hold a special full scale meeting to consider all aspects of the nationalities issue and work out ways to resolve the social, economic, cultural and other problems. But extremist impatience can only complicate the adjustment of problems in any area, the ethnic included. The events in Nagorno-Karabakh show once again that the wishes of one ethnic group can't be satisfied without due account for the interests of other nationalities. Perhaps more than any other problems in the present day world, ethnic problems have a tendency to produce a chain reaction. No matter what groups may have been involved in the recent events or who would have liked to play on the situation, one fact is evident: There were miscalculations with regard to public sentiment and blunders in predicting the likely consequences. Experience and courage are needed to make predictions of this kind, and before a situation can be controlled it must be properly assessed. Some would like to blame the excesses on the process of democratization underway in Soviet society. They say without this process there would have been no such actions. Indeed, Soviet society is only getting used to the idea that democracy is a two-way street. Some people honestly welcome the renewal while others shout about freedoms but do all they can to destroy them. Learning democracy means learning how to use one's convictions to resist the negative tendencies that appear at turning points in history. Let's remember what Mikhail Gorbachev said in his appeal to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, that the time has come to show intelligence and take sober decisions.

Those were the highlights of an article by Yegor Yakovlev which appeared in the weekly MOSCOW NEWS.

Lebanese Armenians on Sumgait

NC091803 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1645 GMT 9 Mar 88

[Text] The higher council of the Dashnak Party today denounced the crimes perpetrated against the Armenian inhabitants of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, particularly those in Sumgait, where the death toll has risen to about 1500. The council said that the Dashnak Party and the Armenian people will not turn a blind eye to the massacres perpetrated by Azerbaijan's Tatars. The Armenians in Azerbaijan were justly demanding that Nagorno-Karabakh be restored to the Republic of Armenia. The Dashnak Higher Council said Nagorno-Karabakh was forcibly severed from Armenia and annexed to Azerbaijan in the twenties.

Gorbachev at Central Committee

PM101100 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the headline: "Conference at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] At a conference in the CPSU Central Committee on 9 March, reports were heard from Comrade Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Comrade Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on the situation in those republics connected with events in Nagorno-Karabakh.

As was noted at the conference, the situation in these two republics is returning to normal, although there continue to be complications. Enterprises and educational establishments are functioning. The setback in industrial output is being made up. Public order is being observed. The investigation is continuing into the crimes which occurred in the town of Sumgait on 28 February 1988.

The appeal from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia has received ardent support from the population of the republics. The workers, collective farmers, and students regard as extremely timely the statement by the leader of our party that the complex questions of relations among nationalities can be solved only within the framework of the democratic process and legality, without permitting even the slightest damage to the internationalist cohesion of the Soviet peoples and without entrusting very serious questions of the people's fate to the power of elemental processes or emotions of whatever kind.

Speaking at the conference, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that the main thing now is to pursue consistently the Leninist principles regarding the nationalities policy and to strengthen the friendship of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, the peoples of the Soviet Transcaucasus and of the whole country. Any exacerbation of the situation could be a setback for our great achievements in the friendship among the peoples which our country has attained in the seven decades of its existence.

By a decision of the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat has been instructed to organize a profound and detailed study of the problems which have accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the reasons for the exacerbation of relations between nationalities in that area, to draw up relevant proposals, and, as they become ready, present them for examination by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government.

At the same time, it is recommended that the central committees of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Parties work out a package of long-term measures to improve the internationalist education of the working people, and that they tackle in a coordinated manner urgent questions concerning the socioeconomic, everyday, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of mutual relations between these republics on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism.

Concluding the conference, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed once more that no single question of restructuring can be solved today without taking into consideration its effect on the relations between nationalities, and that the progress of restructuring requires the harmonious, persistent, and cohesive work of all the working people and the representatives of all the nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Taking part in the discussion at the conference were Comrades Gromyko, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Yakovlev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Razumovskiy, and Lukyanov, as well as Comrade Seidov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijani SSR; Comrade Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR, and Comrade Sarkisyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR.

[Baku Domestic Service in Armenian at 0454 GMT on 10 March and Baku Domestic Service in Azeri at 0440 GMT on 10 March broadcast slightly abbreviated but essentially identical summaries from the republican press review]

Some Tatars Allowed To Return to Crimea

AU101212 Paris AFP in English 1205 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 10 (AFP)—A Soviet commission set up to study the grievances of deported Crimean Tatars seeking to return from Central Asia to their Black Sea homeland has decided to allow approved candidates to go, according to an Uzbekistan newspaper reaching here Thursday.

It was the first official indication since the commission was set up in July last year, after hundreds of Tatars demonstrated in Moscow's Red Square, that Soviet authorities had given ground on the Tatars' main demand.

The daily PRAVDA VOSTOKA, reporting details of a commission meeting five days ago in the Uzbek capital of Tashkent, said permission to return to the Crimea would mainly be granted to those Tatars who had a good work record and recommendations from official bodies.

The newspaper report appeared to rule out a mass return to Crimea by the Tatars, thousands of whom were deported to Central Asia by Stalin in 1944, on the grounds that they collaborated with the Nazis. The "organised move of families to Crimea" would be supervised by Soviet and republican bodies working in close cooperation, the paper said.

The meeting was attended by commission members from the Crimea, who outlined new procedures for permanent residence registration in the Black Sea region, and from the central Asian republic of Uzbekistan. The Crimean representatives gave details of the conditions under which Tatar families could settle in the Crimean steppes, the paper said. Recommendations by the commission published last month said that "unjustified obstacles" encountered by the Tatars seeking to change their place of residence had been lifted, but did not give further details. The commission also mentioned the new registration procedure for "all nationalities" wanting to live in Crimea, but did not elaborate.

The report in the Uzbekistan paper stressed that other grievances of the Tatars, concerning language instruction, education, and newspapers and television programmes in the Tatar language, had been settled.

In the absence of detailed reports on the commission's conclusions, it was not certain however that the Tatars were satisfied that their demands had now been met. The Tatars, some of whom are pressing for the restoration of the Crimean Autonomous Republic which became part of Ukraine after their deportation, continued to stage mass demonstrations in Uzbekistan last month. And last Sunday, 4,000-5,000 Tartars demonstrated for two hours in Krasnodar, in southern Russia, situated across a strait from the Crimean peninsula. The demonstration was called to mark the 35th anniversary of Stalin's death on March 5, 1953.

Resolution Adopted on New Housing Construction

PM071105 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 11 February 1988 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution "On Measures To Accelerate the Development of Individual Housing Construction."

It points out that to fulfill the task set by the 27th party congress of providing every Soviet family with a separate apartment or an individual house by the year 2000 it is particularly important to substantially expand individual housing construction and improve its quality.

In addition to the labor participation of the population and the involvement of its resources in order to accelerate the resolution of the country's housing problem, this type of construction contributes to the fuller realization of the Soviet people's monetary income and savings, which have increased in recent years, helps to retain cadres, promotes additional production of agricultural output, contributes to the labor education of the rising generation, and helps to strengthen the family. In the final analysis, the development of individual housing construction is becoming an important area of the activation of the human factor and the growth of national wealth and the people's living standard.

However, attention toward individual housing construction has diminished seriously in many of the country's union republics and regions, chiefly because of the orientation toward obtaining state capital investments, various prohibitions operate, and sales of construction materials are restricted, with the result that its volumes have fallen considerably.

The adopted resolution is aimed at radically changing the attitude toward individual housing construction and meeting as soon as possible the needs of families wishing to construct or modernize an individual house.

Union republic communist party central committees, party kraykoms and obkoms, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, local soviet ispolkoms, USSR ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, and all party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organizations are recommended to regard the development of individual housing construction as a sociopolitical and economic task of paramount importance directly connected with the activation of the human factor and the growth of national wealth and the people's living standard. They are instructed as quickly as possible to resolutely improve the situation in individual housing construction, to secure a substantial increase in its volumes with a view to commissioning a total area of at least 60 million square meters in these houses by 1995, and to display initiative and persistence in seeking and utilizing the existing reserves and potential for this.

Measures are envisaged to improve the organization of individual housing construction, abolish invalid restrictions on the allocation and development of plots of land, set up societies of individual builders, and develop the contract and self-build methods of house construction.

With a view to extending the material and financial potential of individual builders, the USSR Savings Bank is permitted to grant credits to citizens living in rural

localities for the construction of individual houses with outbuildings—up to R20,000 with repayment over 50 years. Concessions in granting credits to urban builders have been considerably extended. In particular, credit for the construction of individual houses in cities has been increased from R3,000 to R20,000 and its repayment term from 10 to 25 years. Credit for the purchase of privately owned houses is increased to the same extent.

In accordance with the rights envisaged in the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), enterprises and organizations are recommended to make wider use of the assets of economic incentive funds to develop individual housing construction, above all to provide engineering installations for territories being developed and to create the social infrastructure. They are also instructed to give their workers assistance in repaying credit to the extent of up to 50 percent of the debt, depending on their attitude to work and their work record. Local soviet ispolkoms are permitted to use local budget funds to give such assistance to invalids and participants of the Great Patriotic War and to working people in education, health care, and other budget organizations.

In addition, enterprises and organizations are granted the right to sell their workers already constructed houses, with payment by them of not less than 40 percent of the house's cost over 50 years in rural localities and not less than 50 percent of the house's cost over 25 years in cities.

The resolution devotes special attention to measures to improve the planning and the actual construction of individual houses, to enhance its quality, and to reduce costs on the basis of making extensive use of progressive architectural planning decisions and efficient construction materials, including local ones. The USSR Gosstroy, the USSR Gosstroy State Committee for Architecture and Urban Development, the USSR Union of Architects, and union republic councils of ministers are instructed in 1988-1989 to draw up new plans for individual houses for different parts of the country with due regard to natural and climatic conditions and national and domestic traditions. It is proposed in the first half of 1988 to bring normative planning and construction documents into line with modern demands on individual construction and with the increased requirements of builders. Planning and construction cooperatives are permitted to assist individual builders.

With a view to strengthening the material and technical base of individual housing construction, measures have been outlined to increase production of bricks, tiles, and other local construction materials. The USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building is entrusted with drawing up a plan for a complete, highly mechanized brick plant with a capacity of 5 million bricks a year and with organizing the supply of such plants jointly with the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work.

Union republic councils of ministers are instructed to take decisive measures to go over to supplying themselves with basic construction materials, structures, and products for the construction of projects in the social sphere with regard to the substantial expansion in individual housing construction.

To satisfy in full the requirements of individual builders, the USSR Gosplan, USSR Gossnab, and union republic councils of ministers are instructed to ensure the necessary increase in market stocks of construction materials, products, and equipment.

To enhance the interest of enterprises in carrying out work on the construction, modernization, and repair of individual houses, it is laid down that such work, as well as the cost of delivering construction materials and products to individual builders for settlement in cash, counts toward fulfillment of their planned targets for giving paid services to the population.

The USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting are instructed to step up propaganda of individual housing construction in the press and in television and radio broadcasts and to provide the population with extensive information on the aims, tasks, and potential of this kind of construction as a very important area for accelerating the resolution of the country's housing problem.

It is deemed expedient to rescind all previous USSR Government decisions restricting the development of individual housing construction. Union republic councils of ministers and USSR ministries and departments are instructed to ensure the timely revision and repeal of their previously adopted acts which run counter to this resolution.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers expressed confidence that party and soviet organs, public organizations, and labor collectives will take an active part in developing individual housing construction and will thereby make a weighty contribution to accelerating the resolution of the housing problem and enhancing the Soviet people's well-being.

Central Committee Message to Women

PM091256 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message: "To Soviet Women"; date and place not given]

[Text] Dear Women!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially congratulates you on International Women's Day—a festival of international solidarity for the women of the planet!

This bright spring holiday is filled with a sense of profound respect and love for the mother, the working woman, and the patriotic woman of the socialist motherland.

The names of our glorious fellow countrywomen are inscribed in red letters in the history of the revolutionary movement and the labor and combat life of the Land of the Soviets.

Great October and Lenin's party first gave woman the opportunity and real guarantees of becoming mistress of her own fate, a full participant in socioeconomic transformations, and opened up wide access to education, science, culture, and the management of the state.

Today, in a crucial period of revolutionary restructuring and at a decisive stage of the struggle to implement the 27th party congress decisions, the utmost significance is attached to V.I. Lenin's words that "only with the help of woman, with her thoughtfulness and consciousness, can we strengthen the building of the new society."

Constant attention toward improving work and leisure conditions for Soviet women, the construction of housing, schools, kindergartens and creches, and clinics, and the protection of the health of mother and child have become basic avenues in the social policy of the party and state and priority tasks of today. Women's councils, active in the cities and villages, at enterprises, and in housing districts, in conjunction with trade union organizations, must persistently seek to eliminate heavy, manual labor, provide the necessary conditions for women better to combine production and public activity with family duties, monitor the application of the prescribed privileges, and help mothers with large families.

The socialist society has a vital interest in establishing high morality everywhere and in everything as an unfailing norm of life. It needs a high level of development and decency in human relationships, it needs to see the strengthening of the family. It focuses efforts on raising worthy successors—educated, healthy, enthusiastic, committed, and devoted to communist ideals.

In resolving all these most important economic and sociopolitical tasks and in renewing society's spiritual and moral atmosphere, the role of women is irreplaceable.

In the new international situation which is taking shape, the mass movement of women fighting for peace is becoming an increasingly influential force. Soviet women make a weighty contribution to the implementation of the Soviet program for mankind's progress toward a world without nuclear weapons.

Dear Women!

We wholeheartedly wish you good health, happiness and joy, and successes in labor, study, creativity, and social activity. May your families grow stronger and the happy laughter of children ring out in your homes!

Honor and glory to Soviet women!

Long live the unity and solidarity of working women throughout the world!

The CPSU Central Committee

Official Interviewed on Job Placement Service

PM091507 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Mar 88 p 2

[Unattributed interview with V.I. Sukharev, chief of the Moscow City Job Placement Bureau: "Work Seeks a Worker"; date and place not given; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "I work as a secretary and typist for the USSR Gossnab. Not that it is of the least importance what my job is, since the reorganization or, to put it more simply, the staff cuts will evidently affect all categories of workers. I await that day with horror.... Where will I go, what will I do? N.N., Moscow."

Clearly, in the event of an establishment or enterprise being reorganized no one must be left without a job. A statewide system for job placement and the retraining and vocational guidance of the population is being set up. A special commission for the job placement of released workers has been set up in the capital. V.I. Sukharev, chief of the Moscow City Job Placement Bureau, is convinced that work will be found for everyone.

[Sukharev] Trade union committees, above all, show concern for people released from posts that have been eliminated. First, work is sought for them in the same or a related organization; of course, taking their profession and abilities into account. But this is not always possible, and then our bureau is "brought in." I will remind you that all people dismissed as a result of staff cuts are paid an allowance, the size of which has been increased. At the same time we seek to find within the set time—so as not to interrupt the work record—a vacancy in the sector in which the person was working, so that the process of adaptation is less painful. Reorganizations proceed according to a schedule, and we have no "lines of unemployed." The process of staff cuts has been completed at the USSR Ministries of the Coal Industry, of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building, and of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. Incidentally, the Gossnab main administrations have not yet submitted their lists to us, although they are faced with transformations in the very near future.

[Interviewer] The reorganization has been under way for 2 months, and the first people to be reduced have already begun new work. Has this change aroused negative emotions in them?

[Sukharev] Quite honestly, I have not yet encountered such a thing. A 26-year-old engineer, for example, was dismissed at the USSR Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building. We suggested that he test his strength in leading work in a motor transport establishment. As a result, he is now employed on lively, interesting work, and his wages are higher. I can tell you about Viktor Anatolyevich Goryunov, who used to work at the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. He was invited to take up the post of chief of a Rayon Job Placement Bureau. In this way we secured a professional worker and, I believe, we can now rest assured about the activity of the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Bureau.

[Interviewer] But these are all examples "from the life of higher comrades." What will be the fate of a typist, a driver, or an accountant?

[Sukharev] We help everyone. We have already begun publishing a 70-page "Bulletin of Vacancies for Leaders, Specialists, and Employees," and a "Bulletin of Vacant Jobs in Worker Trades" will appear in March. They list vacancies (every 10 days) in all the city's rayons. A person will be able to choose work for himself based on the wage, the profile of the enterprise, and the rayon in which it is situated. There are also offers from cooperatives. A "Videoterminal" computer has been installed in the city bureau (and in seven rayon ones) to speed up and simplify the selection process. Incidentally, Gagarinskiy Rayon schoolchildren are helping to prepare its program.

We are attentive to the requests and wishes of those who turn to us for help. We endeavor to find them work, taking individual needs into account. It is very important to many people that the new job should be close to a kindergarten or the school where their children study. But sometimes people decline our services, because they hope to find work in the apparatus and not in production or the services sphere. For we proceed not only from the person's wishes but also from the needs of society. It is our task to achieve the population's full, efficient employment and to ensure the right to work according to abilities, with due regard for the social need.

[Interviewer] Do any problems arise over finding employment for people of pension age? Do the cuts affect men or women more?

[Sukharev] We have not specially calculated it, but it seems that women must change jobs more frequently. As for pensioners, many organizations seek people with experience, particularly when it is a question of economists and accountants.

[Interviewer] But it could happen that Moscow will not have appropriate vacancies, and where would people go to work then?

[Sukharev] By agreement with the RSFSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, we will reserve apartments for those who find work outside the capital. We now print addresses in other cities in our bulletin in the "Additional Information" section. And it must be said that people are going. The Earth Physics Institute, for example, is inviting a construction engineer or technician with experience to work for a comprehensive seismology expedition in the city of Garm, in Tajikistan. In addition, we are getting information on vacant jobs in the republics. We must think of people above all and, thus, their future fate depends on how we help them in this very complex and, of course, vital situation, as well as, in many ways, the fate of the enterprise where they are to continue their working life.

Hijack Attempt Results in Three Deaths

LD101446 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 10 Mar 88

[Text] Leningrad, 10 Mar (TASS)—Details of the averted attempt to hijack the Aeroflot plane on an Irkutsk-Kurgan-Leningrad flight have become known here.

...This occurred on 8 March at about 1500, Moscow time. A TU-154 aircraft of the Irkutsk Aviation Enterprise was flying over the territory of Vologda Oblast when the cabin crew was handed a note with a demand to change course and continue to London or some other city in Western Europe.

The pilots immediately reported to ground control. The following plan of operation was adopted: The criminals were told that if their demands were to be fulfilled the aircraft would have to be refuelled. The liner made an unscheduled landing and an intercept group was already waiting at an airfield outside Leningrad. When the group broke into the fuselage of the aircraft, the terrorists opened fire.

The bandit attack was carried out by citizens of the town of Irkutsk, the Ovechkins, who make up a family music ensemble. Eyewitnesses point out that their leaders were singled out in their group as Vasiliy and Oleg Ovechkin, and their mother Ninel Ovechkina, a portly, well-dressed woman of over 50. They had brought their weapons and explosives on to the aircraft in musical instruments.

The bandits succeeded in setting off an explosive device in the tail section of the aircraft. The plane caught fire. As a result of the act of terrorism, a stewardess and three passengers were killed. The remaining passengers were evacuated. Twenty of them were taken to the hospital. Five of the 11 criminals were killed. An investigation is being carried out.

Press Provides Details

AU101005 Paris AFP in English 0945 GMT 10 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow, March 10 (AFP)—Crew members of a Soviet airliner negotiated for several hours at a Soviet airport with hijackers demanding to fly to London before "measures" were taken to end the drama, a Soviet newspaper said Thursday.

According to TASS news agency, most of the hijackers in Tuesday's incident were killed, along with an air hostess and three passengers after "measures were taken to render the criminals harmless".

An unspecified number of surviving hijackers would face trial, TASS quoted the Soviet civil aviation ministry as saying.

It appeared from the TASS account, published the day after the foiled hijacking took place, that Soviet authorities had stormed the Tupolev-154 airliner, causing the loss of life and injuries to passengers. A Tupolev-154 can carry up to 164 passengers.

Revealing new details on the attempt to hijack the plane flying from the Siberian city of Irkutsk to Leningrad, the daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA said that the hijackers had passed their demands in a message to the pilot after take-off from a refuelling stop in the western Siberian town of Kurgan. "We demand a change in course. Fly to London. If not, we will blow up the plane with the passengers," the message said. Roughly one hour later, pilot Valentin Kuprianov landed the plane at an unspecified airport on Soviet territory and the flight crew began several hours of fruitless negotiations with the hijackers, the paper said.

The paper said that the hijackers categorically refused the crew's "reasonable requests" that they abandoned their "criminal aims", and began "hooligan acts" in the cabin. As the negotiations produced no results, "in these conditions, there is no other solution but to take measures to neutralize the criminals", the paper concluded, but gave no details on how the hijacking attempt was ended.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA noted that air hostess Tamara Zharkaya had offered the women passengers best wishes for International Women's Day on Tuesday before the plane had left Irkutsk.

In the last reported hijacking attempt in the Soviet Union 18 months ago, a group of "drug-addicted" soldiers tried to hijack a Soviet airliner from the Urals town of Ufa to Israel, according to Soviet press accounts. One of the surviving hijackers was sentenced to death last September by a military court for his role in the foiled hijacking which left six people dead.

Soviet legislation adoted in January 1973 provides for the death penalty against hijackers if their action causes loss of life.

Circumstances of 24 Jan Fatal Air Crash Examined

PM091641 [Editorial report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 2 March 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "The Aircraft Fell, or an Essential Postscript to an Accident" a 2,800-word special correspondent G. Ovcharenko report on the 24 January crash of a Yak-40 aircraft on takeoff from Nizhnevartovsk airport with a loss of 27 lives. The aircraft had taken off at 1848 local time, bound for Tyumen and Bugulma, when all three engines failed. The report continues: "Exactly 91 seconds into the flight the aircraft with 27 passengers and 4 crew members rolled onto the right wing at low altitude, caught a pylon of the airport power transmission line, and crashed 1,880 meters from the runway... But the wreckage of the Yak-40 was found and the survivors given assistance only 5 hours and 12 minutes later." Much of the report is devoted to a detailed account of the confused search for the wreckage and is highly critical of airport officials who had no prearranged and rehearsed plan of action for such an eventuality. The writer also criticizes industry for failing to produce search aids such as radio beacons, which could be installed on every aircraft, and suggests that some of the money raised from the 25-kopek insurance levy on every airline ticket sold (R29 million in 1986) could be used to improve safety procedures.

Obkom Chief in Kazakhstan Receives State Award

PM101021 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Supreme Soviet Decree Awarding the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples to Comrade V.T. Stepanov"]

[Text] Comrade Vladimir Timofeyevich Stepanov, North Kazakhstan Obkom first secretary, is awarded the Order of the Friendship of the People for Services to the Communist Party and Soviet state and on his 60th birthday.

A. Gromyko USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

T. Menteshashvili USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary.

The Kremlin, Moscow, 29 February 1988.

Kazakh Aktiv Discusses Youth Military Training

PM091321 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed TASS report: "Rearing Defenders of the Motherland"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 1 Mar—A meeting of the party-economic aktiv of Kazakhstan held here discussed questions of the restructuring of the military-patriotic education of young people and their preparation for service in the USSR Armed Forces.

It was noted in the report and the speeches that the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution aimed at further improving young people's preparation for military service, and that the plan of joint measures of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and the district Military Council to ensure the implementation of the resolution's stipulations are being fulfilled on the whole. At the same time preliminary military training is seriously lagging behind modern demands in Guryev, Kzyl-Orda, and Dzhezkazgan Oblasts. There has been no noticeable change for the better in the selection and training of military instructors, and many primary DOSAAF organizations are not active enough.

The meeting stressed the need for party committees, military registration and enlistment offices, secondary and higher schools, Komsomol and DOSAAF organizations, and the mass media to pay constant attention to the military-patriotic and international education of the rising generation. They were instructed to work hard in the spirit of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum to ensure that young men join the Army and the Navy as convinced patriots and internationalists ready to defend their motherland.

The conference was addressed by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

Tajik Party Moves To Combat Abuses

PM091121 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, under the rubric "Following Criticism": "'Dushanbe Lesson'"]

[Text] The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee has carefully examined the questions raised in the article "Dushanbe Lesson" published 30 December 1987. The article was reprinted in republican newspapers.

A system of using broad democratic measures to select cadres is being elaborated to overcome parochialism and home-town bias in cadre work and the increasingly frequent instances of nationalist manifestations. It was announced through the press at the beginning of January that a reserve for party-vetted posts is being formed in republic organizations, ministries, and departments. Some 250 proposals have already been received. A list of those proposed for inclusion in the reserve will be published for discussion later. This practice is to rule out instances of people being promoted on grounds of kinship and friendship.

The omissions of past years have been taken into account in the training of cadres at higher party schools in 1988. Recruitment of students from mountainous regions has been increased, and all parts of the republic are represented.

Having discussed the group conflicts which occurred at Gissarskiy Rayon's No 14 Motor Transport Enterprise on grounds of manifestations of parochialism—about which, in particular, PRAVDA wrote—the Central Committee Bureau has made a political assessment of what happened. The party raykom first secretary, the rayispolkom chairman, and the republic minister of motor transport have been reprimanded. Three instigators of the conflict have been expelled from the party.

At the Tajik Medical Institute, where an atmosphere of favoritism had taken shape, a commission has been set up and been entrusted, jointly with Dushanbe party gorkom, with taking the necessary measures to instill order in the collective.

The republic party organization is summing up the results of party committee and bureau reports on work in leading restructuring. There has, on the whole, been a considerable increase in the activeness of CPSU members and an increase in the number of criticisms and suggestions made by Communists at party meetings and plenums. However, the article "Dushanbe Lesson" quite rightly pointed out that the criticism was frequently of a sparing, superficial nature, while self-criticism was becoming a formality. This is pointed out to party workers of the Central Committee apparatus in the course of the certification which has begun and in interviews with party obkom, gorkom, and raykom secretaries.

Central Committee apparatus workers have been instructed in preparing and holding party meetings and plenums under the new conditions and in stepping up control over the fulfillment of adopted decisions.

Regarding the results of the republic Communist Party Central Committee plenum which discussed the bureau's report on work in leading restructuring, conclusions have been drawn on the need to enhance the role of members of elected organs. Thus, the composition of the Central Committee has been divided up into several groups to activate its members and get them involved in preparing questions for bureau sessions and for the next plenum.

At a meeting of bureau members with workers, kolkhoz members, and employees who are on the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the republic party organization there was a businesslike and frank exchange of opinions, and specific proposals were made for enhancing their activeness. Tasks were defined in preparation for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Briefing Held on Juvenile Crime in Moscow
PM091629 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 88 p 4

[M. Salykova report: "38, Petrovka Reports..."]

[Text] A briefing for journalists was held yesterday at the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration to examine the state of crime among minors and young people. The briefing was conducted by L.P. Belyanskiy, chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration Political Department.

An overall reduction was noted in the number of breaches of the law in the capital compared with the previous week. The number of acts of hooliganism declined, but the incidence of burglaries remains high. The number of rapes showed no decline and 3 murders were committed.

There is a worrying trend toward rising criminality among adolescents. A brief survey was given of the activity over the last year of groups of young people of an antisocial persuasion—that was how the speaker described certain well known informal associations in the capital.

In May-June hippies were the focus of attention. The militia was concerned at the "hippies'" influence on adolescents aged 14-15, who latch on to them and leave home.

"Fans," supporters of the capital's Spartak, Dinamo, and Central Army Sports Club, stepped up their activity in the fall. Attempts to organize youth clubs and trips to away matches in other cities have brought no visible results to date. But, as the departmental chief noted, these associations do not exert a great influence on the growth in youth crime.

The problem of drunkenness among minors remains acute. Whereas the consumption of alcohol among students at vocational and technical colleges has gone down on the whole, it has increased among school children. Toxin and drug abuse among adolescents is very worrying. We have virtually no means of combating this evil. Journalists were informed that Moscow has just 38 registered drug addicts....

The state of affairs in colonies, specialized schools, and vocational and technical colleges was reported. There was an interesting report about the fact that the capital's Pervomayskiy Rayon has been running a center providing sociopsychological help to adolescents for 3 years now. Consultations are anonymous. The center's aim is to correct the state of mind of adolescents who turn to them for aid.

Residence Rules for Moscow Explained
PM091649 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
4 Mar 88 First Edition p 6

[Comment by D. Lebedev, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom Commission for Examining Questions of Citizens' Registration, under the rubric "I Ask for a Reply": "Who May Register in Moscow"; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The article "Moscow Registration," carried in our newspaper last year, commented on a number of statutes concerning questions of citizens' registration in Moscow. Readers ask to be told more details about the changes to the capital's passport setup.

We asked D. Lebedev, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom Commission for Examining Questions of Citizens' Registration, to comment on the readers' mail:

Our commission and the Internal Affairs Main Administration Passport Administration are now trying to approach on a strictly individual basis every disputed question connected with citizens' registration.

Unsubstantiated rumors have recently emerged that married couples having two separate apartments cannot now be registered in different areas. This is not so. No one has the right to oblige them to come together and make them give up one of the apartments to the state.

As for newlyweds, they are registered with each other, regardless of which of them possesses accommodation. Registration is not permitted if one of the pair, with whom the other is registering, lives in a hostel or in temporary [podyskivayemyy] accommodation, nor if a spouse is a student or postgraduate and lives in a hostel. There is also another instance where the registration of married couples is not, as a rule, permitted. This happens in cases where two families are registering in the same premises: For example, a husband has divorced his wife, who lives with him, and wishes to register a new wife in the same apartment.

Aged parents are registered with their children living in Moscow on condition that they have no other children at their old place of residence and that registration is not associated with a deterioration in housing conditions. It is also necessary to know the following detail: Installing a new member in the family requires the written consent

of all the adult members of that family. As previously, citizens who come to the capital to visit relatives must register at housing operation offices or building operation boards after 72 hours.

Now about the registration of persons returning to Moscow from places of imprisonment. By government decision a list of articles of the RSFSR Criminal Code has been defined according to which registration in the capital is prohibited to persons previously registered in Moscow and sentenced for various crimes. This category basically includes those who have served sentences for grave crimes. But there are a number of other articles under which registration in Moscow is also prohibited. All correctional labor establishments have a list of them. Correctional labor establishments issue warrants for registration with due regard for this list.

Rules on Public Celebrations Recalled
PM071127 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[Reader's letter and reply by V. Rusakova carried as part of "Question-Answer" feature: "Aren't There Too Many Anniversaries?"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "Don't you think that we are too keen on anniversaries? A plant celebrates its 10th or 15th anniversary, a rayon its 20th anniversary... To 'commemorate' them badges and medals are made. Diplomas and official documents are printed. A considerable amount of money and time is spent on all this. I recall that at the end of the fifties a resolution was adopted on celebrating jubilees...."

(From a letter by N. Avramenko, Kuybyshev.)

Yes, Comrade Avramenko, in February 1958 a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers' resolution "On Introducing Order in Celebrating Jubilees" was published. Attention was drawn to the fact that to celebrate jubilees without sufficient reason is unnecessary pride and conceit and leads to intolerable waste of state resources.

It was established that jubilees of mass public organizations, certain major enterprises, scientific establishments, and educational institutions are to be held only with the permission of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. Jubilees in such cases are celebrated on the 50th and 100th anniversaries....

This also applies to celebrating jubilees of party, state and public figures, representatives of science, culture, and heroes of labor. A jubilee date for individual figures is considered to be the 50th anniversary of their birth or other subsequent decade. They should be celebrated modestly, with the participation of the local public, and as a rule, without spending state or public resources.

In briefly setting out the contents of this resolution, we not only answer the author's letter to the newspaper but remind lovers of jubilees about it.

Soviet Gas Industry Ministry Criticized
LD042327 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] F. Simakov reports on the restructuring process at the Udmurt gas pipeline complex, pointing out that instead of creating a two-tier system of management, as the CPSU Central Committee has recommended, the USSR Gas Industry Ministry has maintained the three-tier system of ministry, main directorates, and associations. The Permtransgaz association, which operates the Udmurt complex, has not been given the rights promised to it by the Law on State Enterprise. S.G. Serdyukov, chief engineer at the Permtransgaz association, says that the ministry has abolished some of its main directorates, but has failed to make the proper economic analysis regarding his association. Simakov then notes that Serdyukov was fired from his job almost immediately after giving that interview, while the main directorate is still going strong. "The Gas Industry Ministry has adopted a strange stance: It eliminates some main directorates but leaves others untouched, except perhaps for a change of title."

Plant Modernization Halted Because of Pollution
PM071051 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Boris Yakovlevich Ivanov, chief state health specialist for Zaporozhye, by own correspondent N. Mironov: "Ultimatum. As Presented by Health Inspectors to the 'Zaporozhstal' Combine"—date not given; first paragraph is author's introduction]

[Text] Zaporozhye—The sensational news spread rapidly through the city. Who would have thought that Boris Yakovlevich Ivanov, chief state health specialist in Zaporozhye, would have decided to halt financing of the modernization of the "Zaporozhstal" Combine. No, this, of course, was not the first such case. The health inspectorate had previously given reminders of its existence on other occasions. The town is notorious for its unfavorable ecological situation. However, the conflicts, if one can put it this way, were local: They flared up rapidly and were just as rapidly resolved. But nobody believed this could affect such a giant as "Zaporozhstal"! That is why the first question I asked Boris Yakovlevich was how he arrived at this decision.

[Ivanov] It was, of course, no accident that we resolved to halt financing of the modernization of the "Zaporozhstal" Combine by replacing open-hearth furnaces with converters. Back in 1986 the combine presented us with documentation for coordination purposes. We then

made a number of serious remarks concerning environmental protection. We hoped that the leadership of the combine and the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy would heed these remarks and adopt appropriate measures. But the health inspectorate was ignored. The ministry allocated R11 million for modernization this year. Site preparation work had started. We were forced to intervene!

[Mironov] What are your specific complaints about the plan?

[Ivanov] At first sight the plan is progressive. Who is going to object to the replacement of open-hearth furnaces with converters? This will make it possible to reduce harmful discharges into the atmosphere. And we do not object to that kind of replacement. This is not the point. The new shop extends the boundaries of the health protection zone. Hospitals, schools, kindergartens, and residential districts will fall within the prohibited area. This means that we will have to start by transferring these buildings to a safe area. But the combine leadership has postponed this work until the converters begin operation.

[Mironov] They did what they have always done in the past. Isn't that why not a single blast furnace today has gas purifying devices?

[Ivanov] You are quite right! Directive organs issued so many resolutions on this point. Not one was carried out. The construction workers did not have enough time to install gas purification apparatus while the blast furnaces were shut down for major overhaul. Each time some excuse was found.

[Mironov] The choice of an industrial site and a health protection zone is clear. What else?

[Ivanov] Converter production is needed in the tar-bonded dolomite refractory shop. It is proposed to build the production facility alongside. This production is a significant source of atmospheric pollution by benzophenanthrene, particles in suspension, and nitrogen oxides. Their concentration in the ground layer of the atmosphere in the city is hundreds of times in excess of the maximum permitted concentration. The construction of a tar-bonded dolomite refractory shop in Zaporozhye cannot be permitted. We think it would be more sensible to roast the lime—which is needed in technological processes such as steel production—on a different site with the finished product being shipped to the plant. The current plan envisages construction of a lime roasting shop within the city. We cannot let a trainload of limestone overturn on a site just 500 meters away from the Pavlo-kichkas housing project.

[Mironov] I recently read a claim in the oblast newspaper by V. Satskiy, director of the combine, that the modernization would reduce discharges into the atmosphere by a factor of eight.

[Ivanov] Unfortunately, the plant leadership is misleading the public. Indeed, if the agglomeration factory were removed from the plant the amount of discharge could be halved. But the leadership does not plan to do this before the year 2000, yet it talks about it as a fait accompli. Hence the overstated figures. Party Committee Secretary L. Anisimov has gone even further. He accused the health supervisory organs of being the main opponents of the combine's modernization. The people at the combine, he alleged, are trying to do a good job, and we are tripping them up.

[Mironov] Nonetheless, Boris Yakovlevich, will the state of the air in the city be improved by the proposed modernization or will everything stay the same?

[Ivanov] There will be no substantial improvement. There should have been a proper study done at the outset on everything at the disposal of present-day ferrous metallurgy before embarking on colossal expenditure. Specialists say that converters are no longer built abroad. Electric arc furnaces working mainly on metal scrap have appeared. This would make it possible to abandon not only the agglomeration factory, but coal-tar chemical production. Our country is now embarking on the path of retooling. A great deal of old junk will have to be melted down. Perhaps, bearing in mind the exceptionally difficult ecological situation in Zaporozhye, this option should also be studied?

[Mironov] One last point. How come the bank started financing the modernization when the project had not been endorsed by the public health organs?

[Ivanov] Clearly, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy workers misled their superiors. They assured them that everything was in order. They have been trying to convince us of this too. But their talk is not backed up by deeds or documents. We need to approve the new technological data, to approve exactly what and how much will ultimately be discharged into the atmosphere. Thus far the combine has not supplied us with such data. There has been no decision from the USSR Gosstroy's state panel of experts on the organization of a health protection zone and the resiting of housing and social, cultural, and consumer buildings. Yet we have a whole complex of major enterprises here. Each of them is a source of atmospheric pollution, so there is nowhere to move to. The city is in a state of extreme neglect. We now need R120 million merely to put the drains in order, which deal with a great deal of effluent from industrial enterprises. However, even if the money is allocated we cannot be sure that it will be used, since the construction industry is also lagging behind.

In short, there is only one way out. Every decision adopted on modernization or new construction must not exacerbate but improve the already difficult ecological situation.

New Public Opinion Research Center To Open

PM091654 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Mar 88 p 1

[Interview with V.M. Voronov, AUCCTU composite department chief, by A. Nevskiy: "We Want To Know Your Opinion"—date and place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Academician T. Zaslavskaya is to head a new center for the study of public opinion.

An All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Socioeconomic Questions is being set up under the auspices of the AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's correspondent asked V.M. Voronov, AUCCTU composite department chief, to describe its tasks and the main avenues of its activity.

[Voronov] The idea of setting up an institute for the study of public opinion arose a long time ago, but did not get off the ground. All kinds of sociological studies were carried out on an ad hoc basis, but it was easier for us to find out from the newspapers what polls the U.S. Gallup Institute had carried out than to obtain reliable information about what our compatriots think about various problems in their life. It is quite natural that only today, in the period of restructuring and democratization, has the creation of a unified scientific center for the study of public opinion become possible.

Now, before a new law or government decision is adopted, our center is to carry out a broad poll of the population and, on the basis of analysis, draw up proposals for consideration in state organs. Today, for instance, people are concerned about the problems of pricing, but nobody yet has data on what various strata of our society think about this. Yet it is necessary to thoroughly study the consumer's opinion and his material potential and only then make a decision. This will be the task of the All-Union Center in studying a whole range of "tricky" problems: medical and consumer services, trade, the operation of children's institutions, residential homes for the elderly and disabled...

The main attention will be devoted to questions of the democratization of our society. How do the labor collectives use their rights and powers? How are elections of leaders held? What do people think about the processes taking place in the country? About living conditions, labor, leisure, daily life, demography, ecology...

We are bringing in well-known scientists to work for the center—economists, sociologists, lawyers, psychologists, statisticians. It is to be headed by Tatyana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya, academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Boris Andreyevich Grushin has been appointed her first deputy.

Readers Speak Out on Glasnost Issues

PM091535 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Readers' letters feature: "Letters 'Not for Publication'"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Not for a Narrow Circle [subhead]

A great many CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions, on a broad range of issues in one way or another affecting the interests of millions of people, have been adopted since the 27th CPSU Congress. This is correct. In conditions of democratization and glasnost society ought to know how party decisions on restructuring are being implemented in actual fact.

But here is what is perplexing. Although these are essentially normative acts, details which are very necessary to people are not always clear from the accounts published in periodicals. Take, for example, the decisions of the oblast soviets or ministries adopted on the basis of these resolutions. As only a small number of copies are printed and they are addressed to a small circle of individuals, they are not known to the people. You will not find them even in legal advice bureaus. For years people remain ignorant about rights or privileges granted them by the state. At the same time the bureaucrats who have such information at their disposal are enabled to create an aura of particular importance around themselves.

It is not a question of state secrets, of course. It is simply that people should have extensive access to all legislative and normative acts by which they live and work. If it is not possible to utilize newspapers for this purpose, then special bulletins should be published giving a full account of the texts of such resolutions and extracts from them. All public libraries should be supplied with them.

V. Shipilov. Konakovo, Kalinin Oblast. [passage omitted]

Awards for Round Figures [subhead]

I read in IZVESTIYA about the latest award presentations, and my heart really sank. It is not often that a week goes by without notices in the newspaper that "...for major services and in connection with his 50th (60th, 70th) birthday" Comrade Such-and-such has been awarded an order. I understand that people should be given awards for services to the motherland, but not for simply reaching an age expressed in round figures. Personally I am opposed to the formula "and in connection with his... birthday."

I think that in many cases we could get by with other signs of attention and respect.

V. Greshnov, worker, aged 27. Kuybyshev.

Percentage Does Not Reflect Elections [subhead]

Now that the democratic transformations have developed so extensively in our country, the flaws of the old approach are striking. In particular, the incredibly good election indicators. We all know that some people rush out to vote at first light while others do not go at all. Neighbors and relatives drop their voting papers in the urn for them. Some people do not appear at all—there are still many such people.

In many states the proportion of people actually voting does not exceed 60-80 percent. Clearly this reflects the real state of affairs. It is time to introduce into our election system a procedure for genuinely voluntary participation in elections. Even if we do not get 100 percent of voters voting, this will reflect the genuine will of the Soviet public's active members.

V. Mishin, engineer. Moscow.

History Without Omissions [subhead]

I too, like Mikhail Shatrov, (IZVESTIYA, No 302, 1987) believe that N.S. Khrushchev's report on the Stalin personality cult at the 20th CPSU Congress should be published. After all, this is an official document.

The people must know their history. Without omissions.

A. Kolychev. Leningrad.

Do We Need a Foreign Passport? [subhead]

I shall be more precise: not for any country but for tourist trips to the CEMA countries. We spend a long time filling in forms to travel to Czechoslovakia for 11 days, or to the GDR for 12 days. And on return we burn them. By the tonne—documents on superb paper with gold lettering. Why? Who needs this?

In 10 years I have not met a single person who says that he could not manage without them. The vigilant sergeant in a green cap "checks" us against our photo on our permanent passport as well. We register in hotels on the basis of approved agreed lists. Taking our vacation collectively, most of the time we stay together, and this list can be shown to anyone who asks to see it. Maybe we go for a stroll in our free time... But, first, there is very little such time, and in any case we do not carry our passports in our bathing costumes when we are at the "Golden Sands." But even if something happened, I think the Bulgarian authorities would be able to make sense of our "domestic" passports. But no, we spend time and resources on an expensive luxury. This is as it has always been. That is the way we do it and there's an end to it! But they decided to simplify the procedure for character references. And they did. And the world did not fall apart. Maybe we will take one more step to overcome formalities?

Yu. Parfenov, chief of the Foreign Tourism Department of the Primorskiy Kray Trade Union Council. Vladivostok.

Historian Discusses Ideological Innovation

AU021524 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian
26 Feb 88 p 7

[Article by Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, candidate of historical sciences, chief of the section on political problems at the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Purifying Power of the Truth"]

[Excerpts] Ideology in the USSR is in search of correct theses for its future development: As a point of departure we can accept the thesis that restructuring means revolutionary innovation and the strengthening of socialism, that the restructuring process should be extended to all spheres, including ideology. Whenever we take stock and reassess our practical actions and our theoretical set of instruments, we cannot fail to subject our ideology to a more critical analysis, because the roots of the stagnation mechanism (a concept used by Mikhail Gorbachev) can be found precisely in the ideological sector. This mechanism gathered strength in our country in the past and paralyzed its creative potential by distorting the progress in the development of the foundations and values of socialism.

The ideology of holding back [zadurzhane] and stagnation (this is how it can be defined) is characterized, above all, by its separation from reality (namely, by the efforts to embellish reality) and by disregarding the true problems of life. The more the problems were exacerbating, the more the unrest in our society increased—it was no coincidence that Mikhail Gorbachev described our society as being in a state of pre-crisis—the more noisily our ideologists, who professed their absolute loyalty to "principles", blew their horn in an effort to silence the alarming symptoms and to reassure themselves and those they were serving. This ideology, having assumed the character of pompous showing off, repelled the people's masses and our youth, in particular (unfortunately, this alienation also applied somewhat to the socialist ideals which had been distorted). Moods of passivity and scepticism, of disbelief and nihilism, as well as antisocial actions and forms of behavior began to appear as a result of this. [passage omitted].

The ideologists of stagnation idealized the dogmas, neglecting real life and practical experience. They did even more than this: They violated practical experience by forcing it to accept these dogmas that they had already turned into a fetish.

Let us describe some of these dogmas: departing from the Marxist postulate about production, ideology reached a stage of idealizing production for the sake of

production, "forgetting" its basic goal—namely, the satisfaction of man's needs. This trend manifested itself in practice in the form of uncontrolled industrialization, which neglected the agricultural sector and involved the construction of gigantic building projects with enormous capital investments to the detriment of the people's everyday life needs; it involved the development of large plants to the detriment of small and medium-sized enterprises; this trend resulted in deteriorating environmental protection and a waste of natural resources.

Collectivization in agriculture was another social fetish, which often turned into a purpose in itself. For several generations, dogmatic ideology tried to transform the peasant, who should be the master of the land, into a "socialized", hired worker who was actually separated from the land and lost contact with it. In the Soviet Union this resulted in depopulation of the villages, and in some places it led to a reduction in agricultural production, and hence to the deterioration of food supplies. At the same time, the dogmatists complacently and noisily propagated the implementation of Marx's dreams about the elimination of differences between towns and villages.

Ideology was unsuccessfully trying to subject our economic and overall development to these and to certain other similar fetishes as a result of which the economic disproportions continued to increase. Not only the agricultural sector, but also the consumer goods industry, and the sphere of everyday public services were stagnating, while social parasites, scoundrels, and all sorts of criminal elements were thriving at the expense of growing consumer goods shortages. In the foreign policy sphere absolute priority was given to the class struggle, which undermined our positions and future prospects, as well as the opportunities for peaceful coexistence and cooperation, by intensifying the confrontation between the two military-political blocks, which also resulted in an increase in our military expenditures. [passage omitted]

It is hardly exaggerated to say that society was facing a crisis caused by dogmatic and conservative ideology. It actually reflected the crisis of the outdated model of socialism which proved absolutely unreliable—a model of extensive, command-administrative socialism, which has no future. [passage omitted]

The democratization of communist ideology will therefore be inevitable, ideology must be transformed from a monopoly of ideologists—of the so-called "professionals"—into the creative achievement of all people. This is how it will become possible to overcome the snobbish, elitist contempt of "life awareness" which actually served as a cover to mask the worthlessness of the dogmatic ideology of conservatism at the service of bureaucracy. [passage omitted]

It is natural that the artificial restrictive factors which represented obstacles to the development of the intelligentsia by obstructing its social-critical functions must disappear under these circumstances. It was precisely the alliance between political leadership and the intelligentsia in the USSR that gave such inexhaustible power to the purifying wind of restructuring. [passage omitted]

Social Forces Behind Political Change Assessed

PM041441 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 28 Feb 88 p 12

[Article by Moscow University Professor Anatoliy Butenko: "Political Leadership and the Struggle for Power Under Socialism"]

[Text] One of the widespread prejudices is the view that the problems of political leadership and the struggle for power, which are so typical of bourgeois society, are non-existent under socialism.

The spread and vindication of this view were due to a whole number of reasons. I shall mention the main ones. First, the classical Marxist doctrine proceeded on the assumption that the question of political power was topical solely as applied to the period of transition from capitalism to the first phase of communism-socialism-when the working class realized its political domination (dictatorship of the proletariat). It was believed that with the building of socialism the classes, politics, and state power would wither away and their place would be taken by non-political public communist self-government.

Second, even in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, when political power remained, the main problem was seen in enlisting the whole of the working class and all other working people in the realization of political power, and realizing this power not with the help of the ruling elite and its leaders but by realizing a government of the people and by the people.

Third, Marx and Engels condemned the overemphasizing of the role of leaders in the revolutionary movement (the "personality cult"). Adhering to the same position, Vladimir Lenin considered it important nevertheless to study the problem: the "masses-classes-leaders" in the communist movement. After Lenin's death the theme of leadership and the system of power was prohibited for theoretical conceptualization, because practice did not fit into the theory of scientific socialism that had taken shape by then.

Fourth, all problems that are similar or common for capitalism and socialism, including the one under discussion, are really decided under both systems in different ways, which makes it possible to assert: in the shape this problem appears in bourgeois society it really does not exist under socialism.

However, as life has shown, the abolition of the exploiter classes and the abolition of classes in general do not coincide. Socialism remains a class society which knows political relations and state power.

Not Just A Change [subhead]

The further on in time, the more it was revealed that the problem of the succession of power, linked to the change of leaders and, consequently, to the struggle for leadership and the struggle for power, also takes place in the post-capitalist society, i.e., it confronts the new society and is being realized in it, revealing something more essential than a change of the deceased leader with a living one.

Indeed, did the affirmation of Stalin's regime amount merely to a replacement of one leader, Lenin, with another leader, Stalin, and not a considerable change also in the alignment of the social-class forces commanding power?

Did the advent of Nikita Khrushchev and his followers to power and their struggle to overcome the "personality cult and its consequences" amount to a usual change of a deceased leader with a living one, and not a considerable shift in the functions of power from some socio-political forces to others?

Was Khrushchev's removal from the post of the political leader due to "health reasons" and not the result of the actions of definite political forces dissatisfied with his leadership and his policies?

It is not to be doubted either that the latest change of political leadership in the Soviet Union amounts to a considerable political turn conditioned not only by Mikhail Gorbachev's personal qualities, but also by the deep-seated interests and requirements of the social and political forces bent on overcoming stagnation and the crisis phenomena in Soviet society and on renewing the theory and practice of socialism.

All these circumstances call for a new Marxist approach to the problems of political leadership and struggle for power under socialism. It may not be doubted that the fundamental distinctions typical of the capitalist and socialist systems will remain here in future as well. The main distinction of these problems under socialism is the non-existence of antagonistic classes and the corresponding struggle between their leaders. It is, however, important to consider that both under captialism and under socialism relevance in the sphere of politics attaches to the interests and will not only of the classes, but also of not so big social forces: intraclass groups and strata, bureaucracy, technocracy, etc. In this context the correct and incorrect (for this or that period) reflection of these interests by persons comprising the upper echelons of power has told and will continue to tell on the problems of political leadership and struggle for power. On the other hand, of ever greater importance for both systems will be the questions of continuity of courses, of looking for optimal political alternatives, ensuring the necessary dynamism of development, and responding to the challenges born out of the domestic and international situation.

Inasmuch as the existence of these problems under socialism has been denied so far, these aspects of political practice have not yet received any serious scientific elaboration on our part. And it would be pointless to try and do that in a newspaper article. Today it is only possible to state and explain later how the change of political leaders proceeded in fact and what it meant in Soviet society.

Lenin passed away when the ruling Bolshevik Party, having encountered for the first time the problem of a change of a leader, and change of its leadership, had no mechanism for this: the leading role of Lenin himself was ensured mainly thanks to his high prestige. Envisaging the dangers and risks due to the imperfection of structures, Lenin in the last months of his life did much and wrote a whole number of works aimed at extending the powers of the Party's Central Committee, strengthening its collective leadership, increasing control over the administrative-state apparatus and, the main thing, he wrote his famous letter-testament in which he proposed that the party consider the question of relieving Joseph Stalin from the post of general secretary.

Without Lenin [subhead]

Lenin's death posed this question: would the ruling Bolshevik Party—the only party in the first country of socialism—be able to retain its role of collective leader, a recognized authoritative leader of the working people building socialism? Not everyone gave an identical answer to this question. Joseph Stalin and Lev Trotskiy were the main contenders for the top post. In the course of their vying for power there started well-concealed processes of modifying the role of state-party positions and the significance of various posts in the state and party apparatus, and also changing the entire atmosphere of personal relations in the nation's leadership. The Leninist spirit of comradely cooperation began to be ousted by the official-administrative and bureaucratic one, whereas Lenin's idea of separating the party from the state-administrative apparatus with a view to establishing control over it and retarding bureaucratization was pushed back by Stalin's new cadre policy aimed at creating a single party-state apparatus from among those who were personally devoted to him.

Lenin's letter-testament could have ruined Stalin's ambitious plans which were dangerous for the party. With some effort Stalin managed to prevent the letter being discussed at the congress. As a result of which the congress, I believe, committed a fundamental error: it did not heed Lenin's recommendation and kept the post of general secretary for Stalin.

History is yet to establish the price the party, Soviet power and the Soviet people had to pay for Stalin's realization of his ambitious scheme. Relying on the cadre selected by him and creating an administrative-bureaucratic pyramid, he secured unquestionable one-man rule. He began to seem to people, even to Communists, to be, if not a god, then at any rate the fourth classic of Marxism-Leninism.

Bureaucracy's Sinister Role [subhead]

The anti-Leninist turn in the development of Soviet society's political system culminated in the assassination of Sergey Kirov. The 17th Congress counted on Kirov, against whom a mere three votes were cast, whereas a hundred times more votes were cast against Stalin. On Stalin's insistence the results of the voting were rigged, and the truth was concealed from the party. Kirov's assassination was used as a convenient pretext for launching veritable terror after the "Congress of Victors" (roughly a half of its delegates were subjected to repressive measures) and for unleashing the mass repressions of 1937-1938. These tragic developments marked not merely the completion of the affirmation of Stalin's persoality cult, but a decisive victory for Stalin's party-state bureaucracy over Lenin's guard and its policy.

Those who were involved in the lawless practices were trying to depersonify responsibility, to shift it onto Soviet power and onto the working class said to be exercising its rule at the time. That can never be accepted. Responsibility for what happened devolves on those who pushed the working class aside and usurped its power. Nobody is going to pardon these Stalin-led usurpers for what they did. "We must never forgive or justify what happened in 1937 and 1938. Never. It is those who were in office at the time that are to blame for it," Mikhail Gorbachev has said.

The decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress were not someone's personal affair, but a line achieved by our party through much suffering. Therefore Soviet social scientists, especially the historians of the CPSU, are yet to make an in-depth study and give a scientific answer to the question: who shelved, if not reduced to nought, many of the changes directly proceeding from the resolutions of the 20th CPSU Congress and how, by what ways and means, by relying on what social forces, and for what purpose?

They are to sort out the role the bureaucracy played in the decades-long continuity of structures despite the changes of the leaders.

It is not accidental that perestroyka concentrates its efforts on the command-administrative principles in the life of the society. The bureaucracy must be inflicted a crushing defeat through glasnost and democracy and this success must be consolidated through the development of the working people's self-government.

Divergence of State, Group Interests Viewed

PM031553 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Academician A. Yegorov "Questions of Theory" article: "On the Dialectics of Socialist Society's Development"—boldface as published]

[Text] Now, consequent upon the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, it is necessary to step up the comprehensive elaboration of problems of Marxist-Leninist methodology and to creatively apply its principles to contemporary problems. The essence of this methodology, of this ideology of renewal which is called upon to raise our society to a qualitatively new level, is outlined in detail in M.S. Gorbachev's plenum speech.

The study of the dialectics of developing socialism presupposes comprehensive analysis of its inherent contradictions and of **the mechanism for resolving them.** Especially now, at the crucial stage in the life of our country, of world socialism, and of the whole of mankind, when the struggle between the old and the new is exacerbating.

This is why it is exceptionally important to study the problems of the nonantagonistic contradictions inherent in our society and bring to the fore ways, forms, and methods for resolving them, in other words **the creative and constructive tasks posed by life.**

Of course, the **dialectical** contradictions of social development which express the "intrinsic movement" of socialist society must be distinguished from the negative features which emerge as a result of mistakes in theory and practice, defects in work, and breaches of the objective laws of socialism in planning, price formation, and so on, and which engender in certain conditions phenomena that are unhealthy and even alien to socialism. Like, for example, unearned income, money-grubbing attitudes, speculation, and so on. But the dialectical contradictions of socialist society also demand constant and unflagging attention.

V.I. Lenin wrote that, in the course of building the new society, it is necessary—both in theory and in practice—to skillfully ensure a **conscious union of contradictions** in everything and at all times. Today it is particularly useful to recall this tenet of Lenin's so as to be able to resolve this task knowledgeably, on the firm basis of actual reality, and from positions of **dialectical-materialistic realism.** Today when, at a crucial time in our society's life and in parallel with the new forms for managing the economy and running state and social affairs, we still have some old forms from the past which demand gradual transformation. Today, when it is particularly necessary to find methods for making the transition from the old to the new.

Being unable to fully investigate these complex questions here, I will single out only some of them which are of topical importance at the present stage of the development of socialist society in the USSR.

The meaning and significance of the general methodological directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent party Central Committee plenums become clear on the basis of economic relationships and in the process of their transformation. Moreover, problems involving the development of forms of ownership under socialism are coming to the fore among fundamental and key tasks. Primarily the problems involving their correlation, the role and position of each one of them at the present stage, and the improvement of socialist production relationships, which are the basis for the development of all other social relationships. Especially since, until the 27th congress, the question of the potential of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership and of cooperative organizations and associations was frequently tackled rather one-sidedly.

Let me recall that, in his work "On Cooperatives," V.I. Lenin wrote: "We have found a degree of combination of private interest, of private commercial interest, with state supervision and control of this interest, a degree of its subordination to common interests which was formerly a stumbling block for very many socialists" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 45 p 370). He was talking about the forms of the peasant's transition from patchy small-scale ownership to the tracks of collectivism. We successfully solved this task, even though excesses, arbitrary administrative measures, and other substantial shortcomings did occur in the course of its implementation. The kolkhoz system gained an irreversible and final victory in our country. Moreover it has also reached a high level of socialization in our country—the level of interfarm cooperation.

I would like to note that the socialization of production offers an objective criterion for understanding the "higher" and "lower" forms of economic development. Always provided, of course, that socialization is perceived not in a purely formal manner but as a matter of real substance.

Lenin's cooperative plan, based on voluntariness and strict consideration of actual factors, in no way assumes or can be taken to assume that every higher form fully and automatically removes its predecessors. Especially since Lenin never perceived movement from the lower to the higher level as identical to movement from the simple to the complex. Life has proved how correct V.I. Lenin was. Cooperatives and individual labor activity are developing in our country even now. Fertile ground for family and team contracts is being created even now. Moreover, spheres where total socialization is altogether hardly possible or inexpedient do exist even in conditions of socialism. These are, for example, the handicraft industries and certain types of consumer services.

Unfortunately, we still lack the requisite theoretical substantiation of what proportion and correlation should be adopted in developing the simplest and the highest forms of cooperatives, primarily kolkhozes, what mechanism of economic collaboration between various types of cooperatives and state enterprises there should be, and so on.

Some people are worried about personal subsidiary farms, in case they involve private property. But what is the actual situation? Part of everything produced by someone on his personal subsidiary farm is consumed by himself and his family, and the rest is either passed on to the state or the consumer cooperative in exchange for appropriate payment or sold on the kolkhoz market. In their turn, kolkhozes and sovkhozes help this person with feed supplies, the sale of young livestock, the plowing of garden plots, and so on. Thus, on the one hand, we have livestock and poultry belonging to the kolkhoz being reared on a contract basis, an extension of collective production in individual form, which of course has nothing in common with private property. On the other hand, this is a form of individual labor on the basis of socialist collectivism. Finally, the sale of the surplus produced on individual farms can and must be regulated on the kolkhoz market: Front-ranking farms have an opportunity to determine prices there without creating a breeding ground for speculative tendencies. There is no doubt that the socialist state is capable of properly blocking any attempts to extract unearned incomes.

The accumulated experience is still not extensive. But an analysis of initial results makes it possible to draw two fundamental conclusions. First, the development of cooperatives and individual labor activity is of great help in resolving major tasks of economic and social development. Second, a need has developed to promptly correct certain deviations and distortions in practice, especially manifestations of money-grubbing, speculation, and unjustified enrichment. Of course, the way out ought to be sought not in administrative prohibitions but in creating a flexible and fast-reacting system of measures aimed at ensuring that the principles of social justice are implemented and guaranteed everywhere.

Recently there has been a noticeable decline in scientific interest in nationwide, state ownership. Stepped up attention to kolkhozes, cooperative organizations and associations, and various forms of individual labor activity does not at all mean that nationwide ownership is being underestimated in the least. On the contrary, major importance is now attached to problems concerning the development not of administrative but of economic levers which ensure the proper position of nationwide ownership within the economic system. There are numerous complications here. It is necessary to overcome the forces of inertia and retardation, the desire to "apply" the new principles of economic management within the old framework, and to camouflage outdated methods of administrative management under the guise

of state orders. There are places where labor collective councils are perceived as just another form of conference where the director "reigns." Sight must not be lost of another danger: Labor remuneration—fair labor remuneration, of course—in the state sector must not lag behind labor remuneration in the cooperative sphere and in individual labor activity. To put it briefly, it is necessary to ensure rigorous implementation of the principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor so as to steadily boost people's initiative and activeness and, simultaneously, to resolve contradictions between material and personal elements in production by improving its material and technical base and labor organization forms, full economic accountability, and self-financing.

It must be bluntly said that without knowledge of interests, their system, and the mechanisms of their formation and operation, without activation of the human factor it is impossible to solve the task of ensuring the unity and integrity of socialist society and of harmonizing the various aspects of its development; the task of steadily raising the country's cultural standards and intellectual potential, the ways for whose solution were discussed in detail in Ye.K. Ligachev's report to the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and in speeches by plenum participants; the task of comprehensively consolidating the foundations of the socialist way of life.

It was not so long ago that our society's sociopolitical and ideological unity was treated in an oversimplified fashion. It was held that unity, and even identity, of interests would emerge almost automatically with the elimination of private property and exploitation. But everything is much more complex in reality. Yes, socialism does eliminate the antagonism between classes and social groups, the spirit of hostility in relations between them. But contradictions and divergences of interests are not removed. Classes, social groups and strata, and also nations and ethnic groups with their own traditions have their specific interests. Thus we have a rather complex palette of multilevel interests: interests of the whole people, collective interests, interests of social groups and strata, of professional groups, of nations and ethnic groups, and personal interests.

In practice, the interests of the whole people are by no means always "dominant." It is impossible to rule out unruly forces opposing the urgent needs of development, like, for example, private property interests and tendencies. There are also situations when (due to various objective or subjective causes) the interests of people as representatives of individual social groups, collectives of economically accountable enterprises, or the management apparatus, especially in conditions where its superfluous elements are being cut back, gain the upper hand over the interests of the whole people. This is why, when restructuring social relationships and elaborating specific solutions, it is necessary to know the interests of labor collectives, social groups and strata, professional groups, nations and ethnic groups, and to skillfully "switch" and "channel" these interests toward those of the whole people, toward an integrated plan for action stemming from the objective laws of socialism.

In this process it is impossible to permit the existence, still less the growth, of collective or group egotism and its transformation into a painful tumor on society's living body. The point is not to adapt to the egoism of groups and collectives but to resolutely overcome it. However, this resolve must be based on thorough study of issues so as to avoid going to the other extreme—voluntarism—and to rely on the strength of democracy always and in everything. This is how both major and minor issues must be approached.

There are many problems in life that involve overcoming contradictions arising from opposition between narrow group interests and the interests of social progress, the interests of society as a whole. But this is just one aspect. It is well known that classes and social groups in our society come closer together as its onward advance continues, and this accelerates society's scientific, technical, socioeconomic, and political development. To find forms for the harmonious combination of interests for the sake of socialism and its strengthening—this is the urgent task being solved under the CPSU's leadership at all levels, beginning with the organization and management of production.

As M.S. Gorbachev noted, the fate of restructuring is determined by two key factors—the democratization of social life as a whole and radical economic reform. They constitute a single whole, and it would therefore be incorrect to examine them in isolation from one another or to argue about which one is more important.

One often hears it said that economic interest must apply only to material production. But this is far from correct. Economic interest must also run through the political sphere, mobilizing the sociopolitical activeness of the masses. Indeed, this constitutes the unity of economics and politics in conditions of socialism, or at least one of its most important internal aspects. Of course, here again we need incentives promoting this process and the prompt overcoming of any contradictions that arise in social relationships. And even though recently we have seen growth of the masses' keen participation in developing socialist self-management—in the work of soviets, public organizations, and labor collectives, including teams, shops, and stock units, which are the most basic level of the economic organism—there are still numerous unsolved questions on which insufficient experience has been accumulated. I am referring to the division of management functions between state and social organizations, between professional apparatus officials and elected nonprofessionals; to the utilization of democratic procedures when making decisions in various spheres of society; and to the best possible combination of the interests of society as a whole and of its components (regions, union republics). All these are different aspects

of socialist self-management by the people, and socialist democracy, as noted at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, is "a diversity of forms of social and political life, naturally based on our socialist principles and values."

"More socialism"—this is the main demand of restructuring. It presupposes in-depth analysis of the entire social mechanism to discover and actively utilize the human factor's reserves. Particular importance attaches today to overcoming and decisively eliminating all barriers and processes causing man's alienation from real power and obstructing any transition from management in the working people's interests to management by the working people themselves. Here we are talking not only about politics, but also about production, labor results, and socialist society's spiritual values.

The task of eradicating bureaucratism, formalism, and the "pressure" style of management has now been set by the party more urgently than ever before. In other words, it is necessary to overcome the contradictions prevailing between the content of people's power and the obsolete forms and methods for its implementation, between the principles of socialist democratism and the backward stereotypes of political thinking still prevailing in our country.

Much is already being done in this direction: Legislation on soviets and the structure of management are being renewed, the administrative apparatus is being cut back. More attention is being paid to ensuring that every link in the political system, starting with party organizations, does its work. The merging of functions and the notorious lack of coordination in the democratic management mechanism constitute one of the pernicious consequences of the past.

Finally, a few words about one more aspect of the process of democratization: raising standards of organization and discipline, and strengthening legality and law and order. Absolutely any attempts to counterpose democracy and legality and to pontificate on some "balance" between them are wrong in theory and harmful in practice. No, there must be neither witting nor unwitting slackening of the dialectical unity and reality of the ties and relations existing between rights and freedoms on the one hand and duties and responsibility on the other. For example, strengthening enterprises' independence is organically linked with strengthening contract discipline and the strict observance of economic legislation norms. This is how it must be in everything. There is no doubt that introducing universal legal instruction will be of great importance and will make it possible to boost citizens' legal culture, political activeness, and their respect for law.

Philosophical science and all the social sciences must more profoundly analyze specific contradictions under socialism to seek out and establish efficient forms for their resolution, to seek out new forms to meet the demands for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. This is particularly important now, in conditions of restructuring, whose concept is based on dialectical-materialistic methodology in light of contemporary historical experience. In other words, on the methodology of the new sociopolitical and economic thinking.

Life offers conclusive proof that only Marxist-Leninist methodology, based on the dialectical-materialistic world outlook, is capable of posing and solving in a revolutionary spirit the largest and most complex questions and of perceiving the deep-rooted interlinkage of phenomena, the main trends of social progress, and the practice of developing socialism.

Army Daily Reviews Documentary on Chernobyl

PM081343 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Second Edition p 4

[G. Dracheva article under the "Movies" rubric: "In the Chernobyl Chronicle"]

[Text] The profession of documentary moviemaker presupposes a readiness and an ability to film events in the earth's hot spots at life's dramatic moments. This often goes without saying. Without thinking of what such pictures cost the chroniclers...

In 1986 the elimination of the accident at the Chernobyl AES demanded tremendous courage, most intense labor, and the utmost precision, above all, of course, from those working at such dangerous sites and guiding people's actions there. The moviemakers engrossed in the life at Chernobyl which they were chronicling were also exposed to great dangers and risks. Those involved in creating this chronicle include members of the USSR Ministry of Defense Movie Studio collective.

At first they filmed only to meet the ministry's own—official—requirements, with no idea that they would be able to show this to moviegoers. It is probably for that reason that their film "Scene of Operation—Chernobyl" ["Rayon Deystviy—Chernobyl"] is marked by a certain official starkness and a strict businesslike character. But the "subject" of these dramatic days is such that each bit of film shot by the authors assumes particular significance and forces us to scrutinize each episode with excitement. The shots of helicopters flying over the yawning deadly "crater" of the fourth power unit; the concentrated actions of the operations groups, control posts, and construction workers; the extensive military settlements under canvas, which proprietorially joined the surrounding scenery...

A feature of the film and a way in which it differs from the movies "The Chernobyl Bell" (Central Documentary Film Studio) and "Chernobyl: Chronicle of Difficult Weeks" made by Ukrainian cinematographers is that it fully shows the tremendous role played by our Armed Forces in putting an end to the uncontrollable chain

reaction, decontaminating the premises and the equipment, erecting a reliable sarcophagus, and carrying out the many operations necessary to eliminate the accident. The makers of the movie "The Scene is Chernobyl" (director A. Tychkov, scriptwriter M. Kuznetsov, and cameramen A. Negovskiy and V. Geraskin) together with the authors of the aforementioned pictures were quite rightly awarded the Gold Prize of Honor at the 5th Moscow International Film Festival.

The members of the film crew and its heroes talked about their work at the premiere of this movie held recently in the Central House of Cinematographers. They include Colonel General V. Pikalov, Hero of the Soviet Union and the movie's main military consultant, and Major General of Aviation N. Antoshkin, Hero of the Soviet Union.

This movie will be shown on Central Television.

Film Made on Stalin Victim Tukhachevskiy

PM101021 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[N. Kishchik article: "Film About Tukhachevskiy"]

[Text] Mikhail Nikolayevich and Nina Yevgenyevna Tukhachevksiy were photographed in their young, happy years; this photograph was torn at a tragic, terrible time [IZVESTIYA reproduces the photograph beside the article]. The line of the tear is clearly visible on the old picture. Whoever was responsible for tearing this treasured photograph into two parts believed that in this way he would at least be able to preserve the portraits of the marshal and his wife.

Recently the photograph—preserved in its two parts—had been in the safekeeping of the hero's daughter, Svetlana Mikhaylovna. This document has been used in a new, two-part documentary film entitled "Marshal Tukhachevskiy." A considerable number of books have been published on this eminent military commander but they have given us far from the whole truth about the tragedy that happened—even after the marshal had been rehabilitated. The history of the torn photograph is told by one of Tukhachevskiy's sisters—Olga Nikolayevna. In the film the photograph is shown for the first time as it really is. Various publications in the past, on the other hand, reproduced it after it had been touched up, thereby concealing the line of the tear on the paper and in people's lives.

In another photograph Mikhail Nikolayevich is shown with a close friend, one of the founders and organizers of the Soviet Army—Ieronim Petrovich Uborevich, who was also repressed in the thirties. They were photographed in that happy period when nothing seemed to presage tragedy. The 17th All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks Congress was in progress and the photographer seated in front of the lens two people whom the whole country knew and loved....

T. Turenok, who wrote the script of the film "Marshal Tukhachevskiy," and S. Zagoskina, the film's director, began work on the picture last year. Copy prints of the film are now being made.

The "Shkol-Film" Studio (The RSFSR Ministry of Education) has been producing films for children for many years on the history of our country and the best sons of the fatherland. It has been responsible for films about Zhukov, Konev, and Rokossovskiy. The series "Lenin's Comrades-in-Arms. Outstanding Figures in the Communist Party and the Soviet State" was conceived at the beginning of the eighties. Films from this series are now being shown at schools around the country. The people who produce the films make extensive use of family archive material and record the memoirs of relatives. The film about Sergo Ordzhonikidze was made with his daughter's active participation. The film about Kirov incorporates the memoirs of his comrade-in-arms M. Roslyakov. In the film about Tukhachevskiy the story told by the three sisters of the legendary commander is recorded for the first time.

Economic

Cash Shortage Results in Late Wages, 'Crisis'

PM091517 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent V. Tolstov report: "We Are Having To Pay for Our Mistakes; Why There Have Been Delays With Wage Payments in Donbass Cities" under the rubric "Problems and Opinions"]

[Text] Torez, Donetsk Oblast—At 4 o'clock on a winter's morning, when the night had not even begun to think about receding, several people appeared at the doors of Cash Office No 3225/018 in the city of Torez. Their collars turned up against the wind, they waited patiently. Nearer to daybreak more people arrived and, when more than 100 had gathered, they had a roll call. Everyone had memorized their number or written it on the palm of their hand. Several days later I found a battered notebook with a list inside on the windowsill of the cash office. Judging by the entries, 254 people had stood freezing in the line that morning.

It was a line for wages....

"We had something in the area of 600 people waiting here in December," senior cashier Nadezhda Gurnyak explained. "We have 20 enterprises registered with us for wages distribution. It is absolute bedlam on payday. Windows get broken. The noise, the shouting! The names they call us! As if it is our fault that there is not any money."

The mining town of Torez is not the only one in the Donbass region with wage problems. I was later informed by the USSR Savings Bank board in Moscow that several other industrial regions in the country are in

a similar situation. The banks have found they do not have enough money when it comes to payday. They have been forced to postpone the distribution of wages to another day or to pay people only part of their wages. Because of the lack of ready cash, pensions and student grants have not been paid on time and enterprises have been unable to pay people on leave. My neighbor in the compartment on the train to Donetsk told me he had had to delay his business trip for several days as the plant cash office had no money.

So what has happened? In the town of Torez, for example, I was told by N. Parkhomenko, gorispolkom chairman, last year the local branch of the bank had been short of several million rubles. In January 1988 it was another few hundred thousand rubles short. The so-called cash plan, which determines the main directions taken by the cash flow as money enters and leaves the bank, has not been met as a result of this.

The expenditure section of the cash plan covers the following: The issue of money to enterprises and institutions for wage purposes; the issue of money to savings banks so that they can pay depositors on demand; the payment of pensions, loans, and allowances; and the reimbursement of expenses incurred on business trips and reimbursement of business outlays. This section of the cash plan includes the money which the people of Torez cannot get on time.

So where is the money for all this going to come from? From the revenue section of the bank's cash plan. This is primarily made up of the proceeds from trade enterprises, consumer services, transport, movie theaters, and apartment payments, in short, the revenue from the services sphere, where we all usually spend most of our wages or would like to at least.

But if the "debit" section does not tally with the "credit" section in the cash plan, that is, if the expenditure section is greater than the revenue section, a crisis situation arises and there is no money to pay people's wages.

Yes, it really is a crisis, because passions in Torez and in other mining towns in the Donbass region are running quite high and emergency measures have had to be taken. I had occasion to witness a conversation at a savings bank between some Torez people and gorispolkom workers. It is not easy to calm people driven to distraction by the lack of meat products in the stores and the meager choice of clothing, footwear, children's goods, and other items. On top of all that, having to jostle in queues in the freezing cold to get your wages or money out of your own savings account!

We were surrounded by a dense ring of people and showered with questions. Why is there no special children's food or baby food in the stores which are supposed to sell these items? Why is there no candy on sale, despite the fact that there is a candy factory in town? Why are people's homes poorly heated and without hot water, for which payment is regularly taken? There were many, many more "whys" like this, which painted a picture of serious neglect of the social sphere in the Donbass region.

So, the time has come to pay for the mistakes of past decades, when production and its needs were given priority while concern for ordinary people was always put off until another day and substituted by empty rhetoric. "Temporary difficulties" in the development of the social sphere have become firmly entrenched economic and moral losses. Last year the Donetsk branch of the State Bank was forced to issue several hundred million rubles. This amount of money had to be put into circulation from the reserve precisely because the social sphere in Donetsk Oblast proved unable to ensure the return of this amount of money to the bank. It is unable to generate this kind of money and in places does not even want to do so.

As far as trade and consumer services are concerned, which are the main sources of revenue, while having enormous reserves to increase trade and paid services they will not begin to use these reserves under the present system of labor organization. In this respect they can persuade whoever they wish that this is the fault of "objective circumstances"—be it the obkom or a commission sent from the center.

Planning based on current achievements is a very powerful brake on consumer services enterprises. Experience gained in Estonia, Moscow, and Leningrad has clearly shown that as soon as a store, cafe, or television service center is free of this, economic miracles begin: Rapid growth in revenue, reduced outlays, and the introduction of progressive forms of service. The road to success has been built and tested, taking the form of contract-based forms of labor organization and incentives, and lease and family contracts. Surely people in Donetsk Oblast, for example, must have heard about them? So why are they not used there? Or is it because the prevailing opinion is still that lease and family contracts, which, apart from anything else, revise the relationship between those in charge and those who do the heavy work to the benefit of the latter, are "not our way"?

Attempts to shake up trade and consumer services in Donetsk are apparent but one can also see that they are not yielding to the usual administrative pressure. How, other than by trade workers' lack of interest in the results of their work, can one explain, for example, such things as the "Mineral Waters" store shutting its doors 7 minutes early or the queues in the stores for basic commodities? What about the perpetually half-closed doors which customers have to squeeze through sideways? This is a kind of symbol, whose meaning it is not hard to divine: The store does not really need this customer who is forever looking for something and persistently thrusting his money at the woman at the till.

Money leaves the bank safes and does not come back. The cash plan evaluates real change in the social sphere by the ruble. It cannot be accused of unobjective criticism or underestimation of success and effort. Credit reposes at the Donetsk branch of the State Bank that has not been taken up by the managers of enterprises for developing commodity output and for renewing production. Even cooperatives are in no hurry to avail themselves of these facilities. This is not only true of the Donbass region.

In the line leading to the window of cash office No 3225/018 a young man with traces of coal dust beneath his eyes exclaims in exasperation, totally justified if you consider that he has already had to wait several hours for his wages: "This is restructuring?!"

Yes, this is restructuring. In the years of stagnation cash plan problems were solved very simply: The sale of alcohol and the export of oil and other national resources for the foreign market were increased. Only timeservers can act in this way, as they feel no concern for the country's future, but this path does not lead anywhere. The main thing, however, is that measures like these simply conceal the illness, thereby delaying the cure and making it more difficult.

The time for that cure is now upon us. In clambering out of the abyss of complicated socioeconomic problems we will inevitably scrape our sides and elbows. There is no other way. But when it hurts at least you know what to treat and you go and look for the medicine.

An extended session of the Council of Banks—the highest organ of Soviet bankers—was held in Moscow recently. They discussed the situation which has taken shape in various regions of the country because the cash plan has not been met. The decision was made first and foremost to provide ready cash for savings banks and money due to the population.

Economists Present Price Hike Arguments

PM091033 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Klyatyshev from Moscow as part of a feature headlined "Economic Restructuring: Price Formation Reform": "Stop the Flywheel"—first paragraph is a SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] "When will our esteemed academicians, doctors of sciences, and others of that ilk stop trying to fool us regarding the subject of prices? One of them cleverly proves that prices for consumer goods must be raised, and another one immediately starts arguing that this should not be done under any circumstances.... Which one do we believe?" This letter by D. Zlobin from Pavlodar is just one of many received by the editorial office following the publication of articles by economists V. Volkonskiy and A. Solovyev (26 January). At the risk of incurring even greater dissatisfaction, today we again publish diametrically opposed views held by two specialists. We are of course not doing this to continue "fooling" the reader. Items like these are just a weak reflection of the heated discussions surrounding prices. This is the way substantiated decisions are worked out. It was not we who said that truth is born out of argument....

When discussing what is perhaps the most acute question in the restructuring of the economic mechanism—the reform of price formation—polemics flare up with renewed strength between supporters of regulation of the economy by the plan and champions of market regulation of the economy. Deliberations by those who are "for the market" have one vulnerable spot: Their proposals do not contain reliable guarantees that the "market" option will not turn into yet another round of retail price increases with far-reaching social consequences.

What do we learn from experience? Everything but... prices remained stagnant during the period which we call the period of stagnation. Prices rose. Wholesale prices in industry, purchasing prices in agriculture, retail prices. Did we manage to stimulate increased production efficiency and ensure our economy's balanced development? This is why pseudorevolutionary slogans about "market" economy put us on our guard: Who do we hold responsible if prices really shoot upward? The market conditions?

On the other hand, we cannot accept the stance taken by those who seem to advocate plan regulation of prices, but surreptitiously promote that same idea of price increases. It is not in vain it is it said that "extremes meet." The point is that these specialists are essentially inclined to retain the same old cost-oriented method of price formation, geared to the actual prime costs of production. At best they put a slight gloss on it by equating socially necessary costs not with actual costs at a given production unit but with average sector costs.

In my view, the reference point must be completely different: **Socially necessary costs are the lowest costs incurred by the best enterprises. Only thus will we be able to get out of the vicious circle when price increases only temporarily improve the financial position of enterprises or sectors, and economic managers subsequently start again agitating for new state handouts—for yet another price increase or higher subsidies.**

Are there ways to overcome the tendency toward price rises and simultaneously ensure the necessary level of state budget revenues while reducing state budget expenditures? Yes, there are such ways.

It is sufficient to look just at the structure of prime costs of output. Overhead costs represent a substantial proportion of prime costs. Rationalize management—and overheads will be considerably lower. Look at the inflated relative expenditure on raw and other materials and

energy resources. Or look at the inflated profit element in the structure of prices themselves. Some economists believe, for example, that the proportion of clear profit in the price of light industry products must be no less than 35 percent. You can judge the scientific "substantiation" of such a high proportion of clear profit by, for example, the fact that the coefficient of economic efficiency of new equipment in the national economy stands at 10-15 percent.

If prices were to be determined according to the standards of front-ranking enterprises and farms which incur the least costs, then output requiring higher expenditure will be gradually discontinued from production. At the same time, as enterprises switch to self-recoupment and self-financing, subsidies for inefficient enterprises will be reduced as part of the state budget expenditure. This could become an important factor for price stabilization in the new conditions of economic management. It would be expedient to abolish price supplements for products bearing the Quality Seal and Category "N" [new] products, which have actually turned into a legalized source of additional income for individual producers.

Taxes and revenues from the development of individual labor activity by the population and cooperatives could become a substantial element of state budget revenues. Especially if this is approached in an economically sensible manner: Do not try right away to "milk" still nonexistent incomes, but let cooperative members and "individuals" develop through a system of benefits so that it may be possible to reap a richer and more stable financial "harvest" later on. It is also worth bearing in mind the additional revenues when direct progressive taxes on total income are introduced.

Correctly noting that changes in the system of prices and charges affect the material interests of the entire population and that the price formation reform must not "become a method for consolidating the state's finances at the working people's expense," V. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, nonetheless intends to resolve the issue partly at the expense of that same population. Why? Simply because, in his view, more than one 5-year plan period will be required to consolidate finances through the development and increased efficiency of production. The question is: **Where then is the role of the new economic mechanism and of the transition to self-recoupment and self-financing in the conditions of full economic accountability?**

No, the solution of the problem of improved price formation must not be shifted onto the people's shoulders. It is also obvious that a price increase will not lead, contrary to Academician T. Zaslavskaya's opinion, to a corresponding growth of foodstuff production but only to a fall in foodstuff consumption, mainly by families with average and low incomes.

It must be noted that the cost of foodstuffs, **based on the average physiological nutrition norms per person per day,** is R2.50 on average.

This is about R75 per month. Taking a family of four, with two working members earning a total of R400, this amounts to R300 or three-fourths of the total nominal earnings (before taxes). An increase of prices for foodstuffs by just 25 percent will mean that the entire earnings will then be spent on food.

It is proposed that all groups of the population must be fully compensated for any increase in the price of foodstuffs by special supplements to monetary incomes (earnings, pensions, grants, child allowances). But so far these proposals lack a strict scientific substantiation. Consequently they lack practical importance. They only presuppose the replacement of one form of subsidy by another.

It is necessary to emphasize that prices and earnings are in a state of dialectical interaction. Their correlation determines the proportional relationship of accumulation and consumption and other most important factors of economic development and living standards. This is why, if we were to release the "flywheel" of prices within the economic mechanism, we could obtain results which would be the opposite of what is expected. The suggested line of solving problems by raising prices will apply the brakes to the implementation of social policy since it will totally nullify the state's measures to raise nominal earnings, pensions, and allowances. This could understandably lead to the discrediting of restructuring.

The most realistic way to boost the efficiency of the national economy and the growth of our prosperity is to reduce the prime costs of output and services, intensify production, increase productivity, and introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress and other components of accelerated development.

Price Hike Defense

PM091101 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Zhuravlev from Minsk as part of a feature headlined "Economic Restructuring: Price Formation Reform": "Who Is Worried by the Law of Value?"]

[Text] Without going into finer scientific details, all current prices can be classified in three categories: Inflated, deflated, and equilibrium prices. Let us start by defining equilibrium prices. Suppose that, 20 years ago, muskrat caps were being sold not for R35 but for R100 each and that the difference of R65 had been channeled into the production of those same caps rather than ending up in the pockets of speculators. Periodically, and as demand was being satisfied, prices would have had to be reduced to sell the entire output of caps produced. Increased output and the inevitable reduction of prices

would have resulted in a situation whereby the flow of output would have been ultimately balanced by the opposite flow of demand. Any further increase in the output of caps would have resulted in partial overstocking, while any further price reduction would have ruined the producers. At the end, muskrat caps would have been available for free sale at the lowest possible price. This is what an equilibrium price means, a price which balances supply and demand.

It is characteristic that equilibrium prices accelerate the economy while inflated or deflated prices apply the brakes to it. The answer would seem to be simple: Establish equilibrium prices, and all will be well. But no, there are human interests to be found behind the prices. After all, even today's prices must be advantageous for someone. Otherwise they would have been different. Until recently we were trying to reject the law of value, also known as the law of prices, to ban it, and to erect a barrier between plan and market. We paid a high price for this.

The purpose of prices in the system of economic management is to play the role of "signals" to which everyone involved in commodity-money relations reacts identically. To ensure these signals convey objective information about the interests of producers and consumers—the first want to sell more at a higher price, the second want to buy more cheaply—it is necessary for prices to obey the law of value. These are the market prices which encounter stubborn resistance by the bureaucratic economic mechanism. Market prices are the real prices.

The economic mechanism which prevailed in the thirties "locked out" the market—the management system's signaling subsystem—and introduced an artificial price formation system, advantageous only for those who enjoyed free access to goods, commodities, and services in short supply. Instead of trading, they started distributing an increasing proportion of articles for production and personal consumption by the "waiting line" method as it were. The lines formed by different sectors and strata of the population were different, and everything depended on the line in which you were waiting. This brought into operation the mechanism for artificially boosting shortages.

To do away with the diktat by the bureaucratized economic mechanism, it is necessary to more decisively rely upon the recommendations by science. In this context, one cannot but be worried by all that is being undertaken virtually everywhere in the price formation sphere. The prevailing stereotype of economic thinking is exceptionally tenacious of life, and so an attempt is once more being made—as it was in 1967 and in 1982—to base plans not on equilibrium-in other words market—prices but on prices which would ensure a plan balance, which in this case means a theoretical balance. This is why average actual costs are determined and equated with socially necessary costs, normative profit is added to them, and the resulting amount is legitimized as the price.

In my view, such price formation poses a real threat to the radical restructuring of national economic management since it is fundamentally contrary to the economy's nature as expressed in its laws. The outdated economic mechanism continues to resist the law of value, thus obstructing the development of commodity-money relations and the market.

Abalkin: 1990's To Bring Restructuring's Impact
PM091241 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Yu. Rytov interview with Academician L.I. Abalkin, USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute director, under the heading "Vanquish the Bureaucrat" and the rubric "The 19th Party Conference: Restructuring Tasks"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Rytov] Leonid Ivanovich, the editorial mail contains a considerable number of letters from people complaining the new economic management system has not yet produced tangible results. It is indeed true that a large number of industrial enterprises which transferred to the system of economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing at the beginning of last year have not fully met their obligations to consumers. They have not really had any substantial impact on our economic growth rates. One can appreciate all the difficulties involved in the transitional period, but nevertheless....

[Abalkin] If we are going to be realistic rather than build illusions, we must be clearly aware that the new system will not begin to produce substantial, noticeable results in terms of efficiency and the solution of social tasks any sooner than the early nineties, when we will really be able to back up the transition to an integrated system. With enterprises' transition to economic accountability and self-financing we will conduct a price reform, complete the restructuring of the finance and credit system, make a real transition to wholesale trade in means of production, and so forth.

This does not mean that we do not have to make an effort and act with greater vigor in the next 3 years. Elements of the new system are already beginning to work. But there are difficulties nevertheless. While solving practical issues and appreciating the need for transitional measures and the combination of old and new elements, it is important to ensure support for new ideas. Political, ideological, and organizational support.

Old attitudes will not immediately cede their positions in the battle between the old and the new. Everything new needs support, powerful support. If this support is not given, old attitudes will try to recover their positions at all costs. This is already happening, incidentally.

[Rytov] It has come to light in a very impressive way! Talk to any director and you will hear him say: Normatives are being set arbitrarily, control figures are compulsory, and the state order is taking up the entire production program.... So how can there be any talk of independence for labor collectives or of enterprise and initiative?

[Abalkin] Yes, the state order is being criticized everywhere at the moment. Rightly so! Indeed, of all the provisions of the Law on the State Enterprise concerning the state order, only one has actually been met: the provision which says that the state order is mandatory. All the others have yet to be met. They are as follows: The provision that the state order applies only to a limited range of very important products of priority strategic and social importance—this has not been met, as the state order has in reality been extended to virtually all products. The provision that the state order must be as advantageous as possible to the enterprise concerned and usually organized on a competitive basis has also not been met. The sides' mutual responsibility as stipulated by the law is also not ensured.

[Rytov] So it seems we have deviated from the state order concept on every count (in the literal sense) and that essentially what we now have is just a new name for the old administrative system whereby the center planned every last detail for everybody?

[Abalkin] That is unfortunately so. Obviously this cannot produce results. What is more, it could undermine faith in the new economic management methods. The social and psychological consequences are no less dangerous here than the economic consequences.

[Rytov] As far as I understand, control figures have undergone the same metamorphosis?

[Abalkin] The new concept of control figures intends them to act as guidelines. They are not directives which are compulsory for an enterprise, nor are they a criterion for assessing its performance. You must take into account that control figures incorporate many of the traditional volume indicators. Their presence would not be so terrible if they were only guidelines—for commodity output and several other indicators, for example. However, there is a marked tendency to impose them as if they were compulsory and to come up with "good figures" so as to be able to report back on success in restructuring.

Essentially this means that the economy is being edged in the direction of the old orientation toward interim results rather than end results. In other words, orientation toward old growth rather than a new quality of growth. The old quality, as we know, leads to stagnation and not to growth.

[Rytov] Administrative decisions do have their own logic. This is based on the fact that production collectives are supposedly trying for an easy life and attempting to conceal their true reserves. For this reason it is felt that you have only to slacken the reins for all centralized draft plans to be turned upside down....

[Abalkin] When enterprises compile their own plans within the limits of the control figures, the situation may arise where they take on less than envisaged in the control figures. I think we should take a calm attitude to this because they will soon come to realze that their income will then also be less. We have to be restrained. We must not be in too much of a hurry in the transformations we have begun.

Of course, there are some economic leaders who want an easy life. There are also some who have still not grasped the meaning of the changes taking place. But on the whole our argument that enterprises are looking for an easy life is based on old ideology. This ideology would have us believe that wise people concerned about state interests sit at the center while down below there is the manager of the enterprise who is at great pains to squeeze a little bit more out of the state and whose one concern is to have an easy life, taking every measure to achieve this aim. This is an old idea which has long been proved to be unfounded. But for some reason we are still influenced by it nevertheless.

Labor collectives, their leaders, and party organizations are no less concerned for the common good than the people who sit in Moscow offices. But they are perhaps more realistic. By often providing for smaller volume indicators, they thereby create reserves for flexibility, maneuvering, retooling, and the ability to react to changing demand, which is what the plan should provide for them. The absence of these reserves in the state plan (one of the ills of our planning system) means that they have to be created in a roundabout, semilegal way. Possibly also in an irrational way, such as accumulating above-norm stocks. But this is largely a reaction to market imbalances, the unstable supply situation, and erratic deliveries.

Volumes smaller than those envisaged by control figures may also be connected to a significant extent with an effort to stop producing the kind of goods which are not in demand and a desire not to produce goods unnecessary to society. Anyway, the practice of being geared purely to volume indicators and the gross output approach cannot serve as a criterion of whether a collective is working well or badly. Reserves are also needed for retooling purposes and for improving quality parameters. In general we should be prepared for improvement in quality and intensive growth factors very often being accompanied by a certain drop in volume indicators.

[Rytov] There is an ongoing discussion in our press about the system of forming economic normatives. Some scientists say that not only should they remain stable throughout the 5-year period but also that they should be the same for all enterprises. How do you feel about this?

[Abalkin] We have also had many difficulties with the normative-based economy. Some of these difficulties are the result of objective factors and the need for certain transitional forms, as well as the need to set normatives on the basis of the definitive version of the 5-year plan—which has largely been reached using old methods. They are also caused by the fact that normatives are superimposed on the already existing situation: Enterprises' different technical levels, different degrees of wear in stock, and different profitability levels. Given existing prices, these are all factors which must be taken into account. Consequently, setting identical normatives for everyone would mean creating an easy life for some and allowing them to enjoy the "cream" which they do not totally deserve. Others would be placed on the brink of financial bankruptcy.

Hence the inevitability of some transitional forms and individual normatives. But it is very important to ensure that all this is done properly and is based on definite economic logic rather than on arbitrary decisions. These problems are complex and we must move gradually toward the kind of normative-based economy which considers the objective logic of economic life and creates equally taxing demands for every labor collective. We must be prepared to develop a fundamentally new normative system to coincide with the price reform, thereby creating a starting point for developing the next, 13th 5-Year Plan on a new basis.

[Rytov] You have convincingly shown us how tenacious the old ideas are and how in many respects they are managing to gain the upper hand over new approaches. So, what guarantees do we have that in the remaining 3 years of the 5-year plan we will finally be able to break the traditional—clearly obsolete—economic management methods, open up scope for new ideas, and bring economic levers into play? In other words, that we will be able to begin the 13th 5-Year Plan in a new qualitative state? What guarantees do we have that this will happen?

[Abalkin] I do not like the word "guarantee." It creates the impression that everything is going to be just fine and that all our problems will be solved without any effort. It is better to talk about the conditions which ensure the success of our undertakings. It seems to me that we have at least two such conditions.

The first condition goes back to the actual conception of restructuring and its ideology. This is a very fundamental issue which has given rise to considerable dispute.

So why did we start with the enterprises? Why, given our system, did we not begin by restructuring planning, then the work of ministries, and only then move onto the enterprises themselves?

We have to start from the bottom. We began with the production collectives because without their transition to new work conditions and without their really feeling themselves to be in control, there could be no hope of restructuring "the top"—centralized planning and ministerial management.

Let us take a look at the situation as it is. The ministries set some arbitrary, high-handed targets which breach the objective conditions of the collective's development. The enterprise should have the opportunity to reject such targets and refuse such plans. The center should be stripped of its levers of administrative command. It should be stripped of the right to summon a director, call him on the carpet, as they say, (and bring him to his knees if necessary) and coerce him into doing something by using the strength of its authority.

Under the new system, the director summoned to the center would certainly say: I cannot accept your decision without consulting the labor collective. This kind of issue cannot be decided now without the labor collective. In cases where real interest comes into play, of course. Because if an arbitrary decision has absolutely no effect on the labor collective's situation and if everyone is still guaranteed his wages, he is quite indifferent as to which plan is adopted and whether it is well founded or not—let the bosses decide, they read the newspapers.

But if a decision does affect the collective's real interests and if high-handed, peremptory methods do indeed breach its economic situation and material wellbeing and sever the link between labor input and labor remuneration, then it will not be indifferent.

So enterprises' transition to full economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management and the new approaches to determining wages are intended to place a barrier in the way of peremptory administrative methods. Moreover, this is a real change in basic attitudes. When people's interests come into play and when they are involved in their work, this is real evidence that the changes are not formal and superficial but go much deeper.

[Rytov] Let us take a fairly typical situation, however. A collective refuses to accept the production program imposed on it from above. For one reason or another it is out of step with its capabilities. But where can it turn to seek justice? Should it appeal to its own bosses, as before, or turn to higher authorities? The Law on the State Enterprise makes no provision for any legal protection of a collective's interests in such cases....

[Abalkin] This is the second condition. You remember, I said there are two conditions for the reform's success. So, the first condition is real economic accountability, a real change in basic attitudes, and the bringing of interests into play. The second condition is change in the legal system and change in enterprises' legal status.

In this respect we are pinning great hopes on the statute on the state order which is currently being drawn up. It must discuss all the rights of every enterprise on receipt of a state order. It must define the maximum size of the order. It must define the reasons on the basis of which a collective could reject this order. If it is not underpinned by real material supply, for example.

[Rytov] However, the State Board of Arbitration still refuses to deal with disputes of this nature. The people's courts also want nothing to do with them. So who could assume the function of a fair, objective arbiter?

[Abalkin] We cannot rule out the possibility of the State Board of Arbitration fulfilling this function. Various possibilities are being considered, however. An economic court system could be created, for example. Staffed by skilled specialists, it could examine all suits brought in connection with administrative activity. Its decisions would be binding upon enterprises and higher economic organs.

[Rytov] Legal protection for an enterprise's interests is still encountering another considerable obstacle. A well-known package of documents on the activity of central departments and ministries gives the latter a fairly broad range of responsibilities. In particular, the ministries still bear full responsibility for ensuring that the national economy is supplied with all the products on their itemized lists. This gives them reason not only to increase the size of state orders but also to continue to oversee every last detail in the enterprises concerned....

[Abalkin] Yes, this contradiction really does exist: the contradiction between the Law on the State Enterprise, which guarantees it independence of action (and also full responsibility for this action), and the rights which the ministries really have.

I believe this contradiction should be removed when drawing up the new statute on the ministries (this work is now under way). The document must stipulate the ministries' new functions. First and foremost it must clearly define who the ministries are supposed to direct. Who do you think?

[Rytov] The enterprises.

[Abalkin] That is the answer I get whenever I ask this question. But it is wrong. Of course it is not the enterprises! The ministry is supposed to direct its sector. The sector is not the sum of all the enterprises it incorporates but an integrated system. Just as the national economy is not simply the sum of all its sectors. So, the ministry must direct its sector. What exactly does this leadership involve? A unified technical policy. Strengthening the link between production and science and introducing technical achievements. Restructuring the sector. After all, the ministry has its own centralized funds, which are quite considerable. So they must be used in the most rational way possible, thereby ensuring the sector's technical development.

When we talk about legal protection for an enterprise's interests, we are faced with the need to resolve another extremely important situation. I am referring to an enterprise's right to join an intersectorial association.

[Rytov] Yes, this right is provided for in the now effective Law on the State Enterprise. It is not being exercised in practice, however. Why is this?

[Abalkin] Because attempts to form this kind of association (and attempts have been made) come up against the traditional question: to whom will it be subordinate? Not one of the ministries wants to release its "own" enterprise from its control. Again we are coming up against attempts to build a hierarchical, linear pattern of management.

Meanwhile, the answer to this question is simple in the extreme: An intersectorial association should not be subordinate to any ministry. It should only be answerable to the council of directors of the enterprises incorporated in it. Or (this organ may take a different form) to a supervisory council, again comprising representatives of the collectives belonging to the association. But not to anyone else!

So, I have given you the two main conditions of the economic reform's success. But this is not the whole picture. There are two more conditions. I repeat: New ideas must be given support. This support must be, first ideological and, second, political.

The role played by the mass media in our work to strengthen the new forms of economic management is exceptionally great. Their task is to shape public opinion and instill new ideas in people's minds. They need to be persistent and purposeful.

While improving our legislation and strengthening the legal levers of restructuring, we must do everything to ensure that legal norms—and also economic expertise—are familiar to the public. Only thus will we be able to protect the Law on the State Enterprise and other legislation governing economic reform against erosion by all manner of departmental instructions and directives.

Finally, political support for economic reform and restructuring as a whole. You will remember that the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum strongly criticized working people at the center and at local level who often work in the old way and try to pull the national economy along by the old methods. Local party and soviet organs must take the same principled stand.

[Rytov] We have designated this year for the new stage in the restructuring process. The preparatory period is behind us. Now we are moving on to its mass assimilation. But there are already too many problems facing us. I would like to repeat the question with which this part of our conversation began: Do you think we will be able to do everything we want to do in the next 3 years, before the start of the 13th 5-Year Plan?

[Abalkin] We must, we have that obligation. I think the mass assimilation of the new economic management system will take something in the region of 3 years. In this time we must progress from separate, uncoordinated measures—and at present our measures are just that: separate, uncoordinated, and isolated—to a new, integrated economic management system. We must begin the 13th 5-year period with this kind of integrated system.

We cannot leave it any later. Otherwise we will again lose time.

The stage we have just begun is perhaps the most complicated and the most crucial so far. The fate of restructuring depends on it.

We do not have the right to step back. There is simply no other direction we can take. In serious politics, as in chess, you cannot change your mind once you have made a move.

Disbanded Ministry Employees Interviewed

PM091339 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[K. Pyrtsak "Reportage From Abolished Ministry": "No One Will Be Left Without a Job"]

[Text] As of yesterday, the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances has been decommissioned. An event out of the ordinary: As a rule, such reorganizations have amounted to a merger of several sectors. But this is a total disbandment. Hence the natural questions which led me to 19 Presnenskiy Val on the last day of the ministry's work. What is the sector's fate? Where will the employees go?

"Yes, it is an unusual situation," Party Committee Secretary V. Filimonov remarked, maintaining his composure, but I could clearly see he was extremely tired due to an abundance of unusual concerns and tasks. "No problem that the party committee encounters seems to fit into the familiar framework."

The secretary has worked in the sector more than 30 years: He started as a foreman and worked his way up to chief engineer of a large enterprise. He has been on the central apparatus for 11 years now. Six of them on the party committee. So his opinion is that of a specialist and a veteran.

"Generally speaking, when they telephoned me back in November and said that it was not expedient to hold a party meeting on problems connected with restructuring in the sector, I realized that some decision was being prepared with regard to our ministry... But I personally could not even think of abolition. Particularly as work was in full swing on a 50-percent reduction in the apparatus. They set up a commission and sought the least painful options. And, incidentally, they managed to work it so that just 40 of the 500 people being reduced left with the wording 'in connection with a staff reduction' [stamped in their work record card]. Jobs were found for the rest, and some were helped to find work on their own. That is, everything possible was done. Of course, the people who had gone through 'purgatory' (the 500 left) now felt different: When one in two goes and you are left, it means you are doubly necessary! Then the decision on disbandment. A stressful situation, you will agree..."

Yes, the party comittee has had a hard time these days. Some 500 people found themselves in a situation where they would have to start all over again. "Of course, they will all get appointments," Trade Union Committee Chairman I. Afanasyev said. "Every last one. But where, in which department, and in which post? People are demanding we give a specific answer. We are not yet in a position to do so today. Incidentally, several 'casuistic' problems have also arisen. People dismissed because of the reduction are asking that their work record cards should now be inscribed 'in connection with the ministry's elimination.' Then there will be a different attitude toward them in a different place, and the benefits will be different. What is to be done? We have been forced to send a staffer 'on a business trip' to the AUCCTU for consultations."

The raykom is also "up to its neck" in work today. Both the Moscow City Soviet and the AUCCTU are concerned about finding jobs for people. Of course, no one will be left without a job.

But how is the situation assessed by the ministry's ordinary staffers, who have already gone through one "purgatory" and have suddenly found themselves at the gates of another?

"If we are speaking of where I will work next, I already know, for I am moving to a similar post at the 'Poligrafmash' State Production Association," L. Mantsvetova, leading engineer of one of the administrations, said. "What don't I like? I will spend 15-20 minutes longer traveling..." She displays a certain shyness: "I know nothing about my colleagues at my future place of work."

Section Chief E. Kobrusev: "They have not yet decided my fate. I only know I will be offered work today. I am concerned about the sector's fate. I would like to believe the right decision has been made, but the plants are linked in a complex technological chain and are being transferred to different departments. This worries me most of all."

Yes, practically all the people I talked with put in first place not so much their own personal concerns as the sector's concerns. Many said that "perhaps the ministry's abolition will also abolish bureaucratic fetters." Some are resolutely "against." Some are resolutely "for." But a common feature of the assessments is the quite

understandable uncertainty about what it will be like in the new job, in the new collective. For it is no easy matter to win a "place in the sun" at age 45-50. But here, too, alarm over how matters will develop in the future occupies the central place: "Will I be able to pass on my experience and uphold my viewpoint in the new department?"

I asked this question of Minister L. Vasilyev. Assessing his colleagues' opinion, Lev Borisovich was forthright and gave clear answers to their questions.

"Let us be frank: A complex situation had taken shape in the sector. The 11th 5-Year Plan target was underfulfilled with regard to many indicators. High targets were set, and the demand was made as on a major sector, although we were like a 'subsidiary facility' in the machine-building complex. On the other hand, we inflated the sector's itemized list, for example, to 6,000 machines plus 2,500 different consumer goods, but we lacked the resources. I will amplify: The decision on abolition is of a far from willful nature. We consulted a great deal and counted dozens of options. This proved the optimum one."

"What is the economic prognosis? Where will your subdivisions move to?"

"To sectors which are better equipped, such as, for example, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and others. I think the itemized list will be more strict there and will take shape not according to the principle 'we would like' but directly depending on the plants' economic potential. A simple example: A milk-transporting tank made of aluminum has a 'life' of approximately 3 years, while one of stainless steel lasts 15 years. We have fought for a long time, but we still produce the former. I am sure this question will now be resolved in favor of a more economical technical solution. Of course, this is just one small example, but a great number of them have accumulated in the sector. Given the present state of affairs, its problems can only be resolved over 8-10 years. But it must be done in 3-4 years. The ministry would not be able to do this as it stands today."

"A somewhat delicate question, Lev Borisovich... Where will the minister himself greet the new work day?"

"I still have plenty to do here. But it is no secret—I have been offered work on a USSR Council of Ministers commission. That is, I am on an equal footing with my colleagues here."

...After a while a firm of the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science will be accommodated at 19 Presnenskiy Val.

Briefs

Tanker Launched

A collective of the Kherson ship building production association has launched ahead of schedule a tanker of (?strengthened) construction. The tanker has a displacement of 36,000 tonnes and was made for export. The main engine was built in the Bryansk engineering works and has a capacity 12,600 horsepower. It is more economic than before and will provide a speed of 19.4 knots, or 38.5 km per hour. The tanker has the latest radio-navigation equipment and efficient and comfortable living conditions. [Summary] [*Moscow Television Service in Russian 0710 GMT 4 Mar 88 LD*]

Agricultural

Shcherbitskiy Participates in Poltava Seminar
LD042320 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 4 Mar 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] A republican seminar on some topical problems of the agro-industrial complex is under way in Poltava. All of those who arrived in Poltava are acquainting themselves with the experience from social and cultural construction, intensive farming, and the problem of raising the productivity of animal husbandry.

Comrade Shcherbitskiy is taking part in the work of the seminar.

Media Report 8-9 March Agricultural Developments

LD100118 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 8-9 March. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

8 March

The whole country is preparing for the sowing campaign; much work is being done to prepare seeds and overhaul machinery. Sowing has begun in Central Asian republics: in some places corn seeds are being planted, but for the most part perennial grasses are being sown. Harvesting of the so-called interim crops—rape and perko sown in the autumn—has begun there. As for livestock farming, throughout the country as a whole, since last October over 23.6 million tonnes of milk has been procured, 1.25 million tonnes more than in the previous corresponding period. Only one union republic, Tajikistan, is lagging. In January and especially in February, milk yields and procurements increased throughout the country as a whole. Since the start of the wintering period, over 9.5 million tonnes of cattle and poultry meat has been procured, 553,000 tonnes more than 1 year ago. Farms

in Uzbekistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, and Ukraine, however, are lagging behind last year's level. No small quantity of meat is lost due to poor organization of livestock procurement: The weight of a steer is considered accepted only after hanging in the meat combine refrigerator, which gives great opportunity for petty pilfering and abuses, and means a great deal of meat produce simply never reaches the purchaser. (0500)

Today we received a report that spring field work is continuing in the Central Asian republics. Perennial grass is being sown, and in certain places the planting of potatoes and even corn for grain has been begun. In winter crop sowing regions, the condition of shoots is being checked. The state of winter crops in Kursk Oblast is still causing particular alarm, due to a thick layer of ice. Therefore, farmers are preparing for the possible resowing of winter crops, but they have seeds for this. They include spring wheat, barley, and other cereals. A thin layer of ice has formed in certain places in the eastern fields of Estonia, here and there in north and east Belorrusia, a little in the Central non-Chernozem Zone, and Volgograd Oblast. The harvesting of rape and perko sown in the autumn has begun in the Central Asian republics. The green mass is being sent to livestock units to feed cattle.

9 March

Mass spring sowing will soon start in southern Kazakhstan. To date 225,000 tractors—93 percent of them—are ready for use here. Virtually all seed drills, tractor plows, and cultivators have been repaired. The level of readiness of machinery for spring is much higher than last year. (1400)

Briefs

Moldavian-SFRY Corn Hybrids

The Moldavian Gibrid scientific and production association has a collection of over 50,000 strains and lines of corn. This gene bank has been used to develop hybrids with the high quality of older strains and the high productivity of newer ones. The strains developed by Moldavian breeders have been highly placed in tests conducted in the context of international scientific and technical cooperation between the CEMA countries and Yugoslavia on breeding corn with different ripening periods. Joint research by the collectives of the Moldavian Scientific Research Institute of Corn and Sorghum and the Zagreb Institute of Selection and Plantbreeding, has led to the development of the hope [nadezhda] hybrid, which has received high praise from Austrian experts. Two more hybrids developed from the Moldavian and Yugoslav lines are considered promising for use in Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and Moscow Oblast. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 7 Mar 88 LD*]

Military

Shcherbitskiy Attends Army-Navy Jubilee in Kiev

AU071455 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 23 Feb 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "On Guard Over Peace and Socialism"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy was commemorated by a solemn meeting of representatives of Kiev city and Oblast working people, and the soldiers of Kiev garrison, held on 22 February in the "Ukraina" Palace of Culture in Kiev.

Presiding over the meeting were: V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; I.A. Gerasimov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, V.D. Kryuchkov, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members.

K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary, opened the meeting.

The state anthems of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR were played.

Army General I.A. Gerasimov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, delivered a report. [passage omitted]

Solemn meetings devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy were also held in Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Lvov, the hero cities of Odessa, Sevastopol, Kerch, and in other cities of the republic.

Kolbin Addresses Patriotic Education Meeting

PM081637 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Ladin report: "To Raise Defenders of the Motherland"]

[Text] A conference of the republic party and soviet aktiv has been held in Alma-Ata to examine questions of improving the military-patriotic education and training of young people for service in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces in light of CPSU Central Committee's demands. Lieutenant General A.V. Kovtunov, Central Asian Military District commander, delivered the report. Leaders of republican ministries and departments and senior officials of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, DOSAAF committees, military commissariats, and other organizations and establishments took part in the conference.

G.V. Kolbin, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, addressed the participants in the conference.

Leaders Sign Former Troop Commander's Obituary

PM081329 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 First Edition p 4

[Col Gen (retired) M.A. Nikolskiy Obituary]

[Excerpts] Colonel General (retired) Mikhail Aleksandrovich Nikolskiy, a participant in the Great Patriotic War, has died after a long and serious illness. [passage omitted]

In the postwar years M.A. Nikolskiy served in various command and staff posts in the troops and the USSR Defense Ministry central apparatus. He was deputy chief of staff of the Soviet Army's artillery, chief of staff of rocket units, and from 1960 to 1962 he was chief of the Rocket Forces Main Staff and first deputy commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces. [passage omitted]

Yu.P. Maksimov, V.M. Shabanov, V.F. Tolubko, V.S. Rodin, Yu.A. Yashin, S.G. Kochemasov, V.V. Korobushin, A.A. Maksimov, I.I. Kurinnoy, G.S. Titov, D.A. Dragunskiy, P.A. Gorchakov, V.M. Vishenkov, A.G. Shevtsov, K.V. Gerchik, P.V. Akindinov, A.S. Butskiy, A.F. Panuyev, A.Ya. Popov, S.A. Starikov, V.I. Spirin.